CENTRAL LIBRARY

POLITICAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA

FROM THE ACCESSION OF PARIKSHIT TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE GUPTA DYNASTY

080 Cal
0.27
CALCUTTA U
LIBRARY

BY

HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI, M.A., PH.D.

LECTURER IN HISTORY, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY; FORMERLY PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, PRESIDENCY COLLEGE, CALCUTTA AND READER AND ACTING HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, DACCA UNIVERSITY; ISHAN SCHOLAR, GRIFFITH PRIZEMAN; AUTHOR OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE VAISHNAVA SECT

THIRD EDITION, REVISED AND EN[illegible]D

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING

080 CU
0.27/2

PUBLISHED BY THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA
1932

BCU 167

PRINTED BY BHUPENDRALAL BANERJI
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS, SENATE HOUSE, CALCUTTA

C. U. Press—Reg. No. 574B—February, 1933—500

GS 2441

CENTRAL LIBRARY

To

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee

in token of grateful regard and esteem

CENTRAL LIBRARY

Acc. No.....
Book No.....
LIBRARY

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

The *Political History of Ancient India* now arrives at a third edition. An endeavour has been made to make it more accurate and up to date. Questions connected with certain dynasties, particularly of the Scythian period, have [illegible] and several paragraphs have been revised [illegible] information that may be gathered [illegible] as well as inscriptions discovered at Shahdaur, [illegible] Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa, Guṇāighara and other places. Footnotes and appendices have been added to explain the author's viewpoint with regard to certain controversial [illegible]. A new feature of the revised edition is the insertion in certain chapters, particularly of Part II, of introductory verses from literature to bring out some salient features of those chapters and, incidentally, to show that poets and sages of Ancient India were not altogether unmindful of the political vicissitudes through which their country passed. The author craves the indulgence of the reader for certain misprints that have crept into the text. The labour of revising the Indexes has been performed by Shiuts D. C. Raychaudhuri, G. C. Raychaudhuri and Anilkumar Raychaudhuri.

Sd/- Hemchandra Raichaudhuri
H. C. R. C.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA:

December 13, 1931.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

A new edition of the *Political History of Ancient India from the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty* is placed before the public. The work has been out of print for some time, and need has long been felt for a fresh edition. Therefore it goes forth once more having been revised and re-written in the light of the new information that is coming in so rapidly and in such vast bulk. No pains have been spared to bring the book up to date and make it more attractive to students. Material emendations have been made in almost every chapter. Some of the extracts in Sanskrit have been provided with English renderings.

A new feature of the present volume is the inclusion of a number of maps, and a few chronological and synchronistic tables, which, it is to be hoped, will increase the usefulness of the work. The incorporation of fresh material has necessitated a recasting of the indexes.

The present writer never intended his work to be a comprehensive survey of the political and dynastic history of every Indian province. He is chiefly concerned with those kingdoms and empires whose influence transcended provincial limits and had an important bearing upon the general course of political events in the heart and nerve-centres of the Indian sub-continent. Dynasties of mere local interest (*e.g.*, the Tamil *Prachantas* of the far south, or the Himālayan *Pratyantas* in the far north) have received very brief notice, as these did not aquire an all-India importance till after the Gupta

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

The object of the following pages is to sketch the political history of Ancient India from the accession of Parikshit to the extinction of the Gupta Dynasty. The idea of the work suggested itself many years ago from observing a tendency in some of the current books to dismiss the history of the period from the Bhārata war to the rise of Buddhism as incapable of arrangement in definite chronological order. The author's aim has been to present materials for an authentic chronological history of ancient India, including the neglected post-Bhārata period, but excluding the Epoch of the Kanauj Empires which properly falls within the domain of the historian of Mediæval India.

The volume now offered to the public consists of two parts. In the first part an attempt has been made to furnish, from a comparison of the Vedic, Epic, Purāṇic, Jaina, Buddhist and secular Brāhmaṇical literature, such a narrative of the political vicissitudes of the post-Parikshita-pre-Bimbisārian period as may not be less intelligible to the reader than Dr. Smith's account of the transactions of the post-Bimbisārian age. It has also been thought expedient to append, towards the end of this part, a short chapter on kingship in the Brāhmaṇa-Jātaka period. The purpose of the second part is to provide a history of the period from Bimbisāra to the Guptas which will be, to a certain extent, more up to date, if less voluminous, than the classic work of Dr. Smith.

The greater part of the volume now published was written some years ago, and the author has not had

the opportunity to discuss some of the novel theories advanced in recent works like *The Cambridge History of India*, and Mr. Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*.

The writer of these pages offers his tribute of respect to the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for providing opportunities for study which render it possible for a young learner to carry on investigation in the subject of his choice. To Professor D. R. Bhandarkar the author is grateful for the interest taken in the progress of the work. His acknowledgments are also due to Messrs. Girindramohan Sarkar and Rameshchandra Raychauduri for their assistance in preparing the Indexes. Lastly, this preface cannot be closed without a word of thanks to Mr. A. C. Ghatak, the Superintendent, for his help in piloting the work through the Press.

July 16, 1923. H. C. R. [C.]

CONTENTS

Part I

From the Accession of Parikshit to the Coronation of Bimbisāra.

	Page.
Foreword	1
Sources	2
The Age of the Pārikshitas	9
The Age of the Great Janaka	30
The Later Vaidehas of Mithilā	55
The Deccan in the Age of the Later Vaidehas ...	60
The Sixteen Mahājanapadas	67
The Epic Account of the Mahājanapadas ...	107
The Fall of Kāsi and the Ascendancy of Kosala ...	109
Kingship	112

Part II

From the Coronation of Bimbisāra to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty.

Foreword 127

The Rise of Magadha.

The Age of Bimbisāra	129
Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru	139
Ajātaśatru's Successors	143
The Chronology of the Bimbisāra (Haryaṅka)-Śiśunāga Group	152
The Nandas	154

The Pre-Persian and Macedonian Invasions.

	Page.
The Advance of Persia to the Indus	160
The Last of the Achaemenids and Alexander ...	162

The Maurya Empire: the Era of Digvijaya.

The Reign of Chandragupta Maurya	175
The Reign of Bindusāra	200
The Early Years of Aśoka	203

The Maurya Empire: The Era of Dhammavijaya and Decline.

Aśoka after the Kaliṅga War	219
The Later Mauryas and the Decline of their Power ...	236

The Śuṅga Empire and the Bactrian Greeks.

The Reign of Pushyamitra	253
Agnimitra and his Successors	269
Importance of the Śuṅga Period of Indian History ...	273

The Fall of the Magadhan and Indo-Greek Powers.

The Kāṇvas, the Later Śuṅgas and the Later Mitras	
The Śātavāhanas and the Chetas	2
The End of Greek Rule in North-West India ...	286

Scythian Rule in Northern India.

The Śakas	292
The Pahlavas or Parthians	308
The Great Kushāns	312
The Nāgas and the Later Kushāns	328

Scythian Rule in Southern and Western India.

	Page.
The Kshaharātas	330
The Restoration of the Śātavāhana Empire ...	336
The Śakas of Ujjain	343
Administrative Machinery of the Scythian Period ...	348

The Gupta Empire: The Rise of the Gupta Power.

The Foundation of the Gupta Dynasty	359
Chandra Gupta I	361
Samudra Gupta Parākramāṅka	363

The Gupta Empire (*continued*): The Age of the Vikramādityas.

Chandra Gupta II, Vikramāditya	376
Kumāra Gupta I, Mahendrāditya	384
Skanda Gupta, Vikramāditya	386

The Gupta Empire (*continued*): The Later Guptas.

ival of the Gupta Power after Skanda Gupta ...	391
Gupta and Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya ...	394
āra Gupta II	397
ha Gupta	399
Successors of Budha Gupta	401
The Line of Kṛishṇa Gupta	404

Genealogical and Synchronistic Tables.

The Pārikshita Family	29
Synchronistic Table (1): Pre-Bimbisārian Period ...	54
Chaidya Kings	91

	Page.
Maurya Dynasty	251
Early Sātavāhanas	283
Satraps of Mathurā	302
Pallavas	341
Śakas of Ujjain	358
Vākāṭakas	389
Imperial Guptas	413
Latest Guptas	414
Synchronistic Table (2) ... ... To face page	436

Appendices and Indexes.

Appendix A : The Results of Aśoka's Propaganda in Western Asia	415
Appendix B : A Note on the Chronological Relation of Kanishka and Rudradāman I	419
Appendix C : A Note on the Later Guptas ...	423
Appendix D : The Decline of the Early Gupta Empire	425
Appendix E : Kingdoms of Trans-Vindhyan India ...	43?
Bibliographical Index	43?
General Index	445

Maps.

1.	India in the Age of Janaka ...	To face pa?
2.	Ancient Dakshiṇāpatha ...	,, ,,
3.	The Mahājanapadas of Ancient India	,, ,,
4.	Bhāratavarsha	,, ,, I?
5	India in the Age of the Later Guptas	,, ,, 391

ABBREVIATIONS

A. G. I.	...	Ancient Geography of India.
A. H. D.	...	Ancient History of the Deccan.
A. I. H. T.	...	Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.
Ait. Br.	...	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
Alex.	...	Plutarch's Life of Alexander.
Ann. Bhand. Ins.	...	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
Āpas. Śr. Sūtra	...	Āpastambīya Śrauta Sūtra.
App.	...	Appendix.
A. R. I.	...	Ayran Rule in India.
A. S. I.	...	Archæological Survey of India.
A. S. R.	...	Reports of the Archæological Survey of India.
A. S. W. I.	...	Archæological Survey of Western India.
A. V.	...	Atharva Veda.
Bau. Sūtra.	...	Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra.
Bhand. Com. Vol.	...	Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume.
Bom. Gaz.	...	Bombay Gazetteer.
Br.	...	Brāhmaṇa.
Bṛih. S.	...	Bṛihat Saṁhitā
Bṛih. Up.	...	Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad.
Bud. Ind.	...	Buddhist India.
C. A. H.	...	Cambridge Ancient History.
Calc. Rev.	...	Calcutta Review.
Camb. Ed.	...	Cambridge Edition.
Camb. Hist. Ind. (C. H. I.).	}	Cambridge History of India (Vol. I).
Carm. Lec.	...	Carmichael Lectures, 1918.
Chn. Up.	...	Chhāndogya Upanishad.

C. I. I.	...	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
Cunn.	...	Cunningham.
D.	...	Dîgha Nikāya.
Dialogues	...	Dialogues of the Buddha.
Ed.	...	Edition.
E. H. I.	...	Early History of India.
Ep. Ind.	...	Epigraphia Indica.
Gandhāra (Foucher)	...	Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhāra.
Gaz.	...	Gazetteer.
G. E.	...	Gupta Era.
G. E. I.	...	Great Epic of India.
Gop. Br.	...	Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.
G. O. S.	...	Gaekwar Oriental Series.
Hariv.	...	Harivaṁśa.
H. and F.	...	Hamilton and Falconer's Translation of Strabo's Geography.
H. F. A. I. C.	...	History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon.
H. O. S.	...	Harvard Oriental Series.
I. H. Q.	...	Indian Historical Quarterly.
Int. Ant. (I. A.)	...	Indian Antiquary.
Ind. Lit.	...	History of Indian Literature.
Imp. Gaz.	...	Imperial Gazetteer.
Inv. Alex.	...	Invasion of Alexander.
J.	...	Jātaka.
J. A.	...	Journal Asiatique.
J. A. O. S.	...	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
J. A. S. B.	...	Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. B. O. R. S.	...	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

J. R. A. S.	...	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Kaush. Up.	..	Kaushîtaki Upanishad.
Kaut. ...	...	Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, Mysore, 1919.
Life ...	...	The Life of Hiuen Tsang.
M. ...	...	Majjhima Nikāya.
M. A. S. I. ...	...	Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India.
Mat. ...	...	Matsya Purāṇa.
Mbh. ...	...	Mahābhārata.
Med. Hind. Ind.	...	Mediæval Hindu India.
M. R. ...	...	Minor Rock Edicts.
N. ...	...	Nikāya.
P. ...	...	Purāṇa.
Pt. (Pat.) ...	...	Patañjali.
Ram. ...	...	Rāmāyaṇa.
R. P. V. U.	...	Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads.
R. V. ...	...	Rig-Veda.
Sans. Lit. ...	...	Sanskrit Literature.
Sat. Br. ...	...	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
S. B. E. ...	...	Sacred Books of the East.
S. E. ...	...	Śaka Era.
S. I. I. ...	...	South Indian Inscriptions.
V. ...	...	Veda.
Ved. Ind. ...	...	Vedic Index.
Viz. Dist. Gaz.	...	Vizagapatam District Gazetteer.
Z. D. M. G.	...	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Political History of Ancient India

PART I

From the Accession of Parikshit to the Coronation of Bimbisāra

FOREWORD

No Thucydides or Tacitus has left for posterity a genuine history of Ancient India. But the patient investigations of numerous scholars and archæologists have opened up rich stores of material for the reconstruction of the ancient history of our country.

The first notable attempt to "sort and arr[illegible]e the accumulated and ever-growing stores of knowledg[illegible]" was made by Dr. Vincent Smith. But the excellent historian, failing to find sober history in bardic tales, ignored the period immediately succeeding "the famous war waged on the banks of the Jumna, between the sons of Kuru and the sons of Pāṇḍu," and took as his starting point the middle of the seventh century B.C. My aim has been to sketch in outline the dynastic history of Ancient India including the neglected period. I have taken as my starting point the [illegible]n of Parikshit which, according to Epic and Purā[illegible]dition, took place shortly after the Bhārata War.

[illegible]luable information regarding the Pārikshita and the [illegible]-Pārikshita periods has been given by eminent scholars like Weber, Oldenberg, Macdonell, Keith, Rhys Davids, Pargiter, Bhandarkar and others. But the attempt to [illegible]ame an outline of political history from Parikshit to

Bimbisāra out of materials supplied by Brāhmaṇic as well as non-Brāhmaṇic literature is, I believe, made for the first time in the following pages.

Sources.

No inscription or coin has unfortunately been discovered which can be referred, with any amount of certainty, to the post-Pārikshita-pre-Bimbisārian period. The South Indian plates purporting to belong to the reign of Janamejaya[1] have been proved to be spurious. Our chief reliance must, therefore, be placed upon literary evidence. Unfortunately this evidence is purely Indian, and is not supplemented by those foreign notices which have "done more than any archæological discovery to render possible the remarkable resuscitation" of the history of the post-Bimbisārian period. The discoveries at Mahenjo-Daṛo and Harappa have no doubt supplemented the purely literary evidence regarding the ancient history of India. But the civilisation disclosed is that of Sauvîra or Sovîra (Sophir, Ophir?) in the pre-Pārikshita period. And the monuments exhumed "offer little direct contribution to the materials for political history," particularly of the Madhya-deśa.

Indian literature useful for the purpose of the historian of the post-Pārikshita-pre-Bimbisārian age may be divided into five classes, *viz.* :—

I. Brāhmaṇical literature of the post-Pārikshita-Bimbisārian period. This class of literature [illegible] contributes the most valuable information regarding history of the earliest dynasties and comprises :

(*a*) The last book of the Atharva Veda.

[1] Ep. Ind., VII. App. pp. 162-63

(*b*) The Aitareya, Śatapatha, Taittirîya and other ancient Brāhmaṇas.

(*c*) The Bṛihadāraṇyaka, Chhāndogya and other classical Upanishads.

That these works belong to the post-Pārikshita period is proved by repeated references to Parikshit, to his son Janamejaya, and to Janaka of Videha at whose court the fate of the Pārikshitas was made the subject of a philosophical discussion. That these works are pre-Buddhistic and, therefore, pre-Bimbisārian, has been proved by competent critics like Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra,[1] Professor Macdonell [2] and others.

II. The second class comprises Brāhmaṇical works to which no definite date can be assigned, but large portions of which, in the opinion of competent critics, belong to the post-Bimbisārian period. To this class belong the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. The present Rāmāyaṇa consists of 24,000 Ślokas (I.4.2—Chaturviṁśa sahasrāṇi ślokānām uktavān ṛishi). But even in the first or second century A.D. the epic seems to have contained only 12,000 Ślokas [3] as the evidence of the Buddhist Mahā-vibhāshā suggests. It not only mentions Buddha Tathāgata (II. 109.94), but distinctly refers to the struggles of the Hindus with mixed hordes of Yavanas and Śakas, Śakān Yavana-miśritān (I. 54. 21). In the Kishkindhyā Kāṇḍa (IV. 43.11-12), Sugrīva places the country of the Yavanas and the cities of the Śakas between the country of the Kurus and the Madras, and the Himālayas. This shows that the Græco-Scythians at that time occupied part of the Pañjāb. The Laṅkā Kāṇḍa (69.32) apparently

1 Translation of the Chhāndogya Upanishad, pp. 23-24.
2 History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 189, 202-203 & 226.
3 J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 99 ff.

refers to the Purāṇic episode of the uplifting of Mount Govardhana (Parigṛihya girimdorbhyām vapur Vishṇor vidambayan).[1]

As regards the present Mahābhārata, Hopkins says[2] "Buddhist supremacy already decadent is implied by passages which allude contemptuously to the edūkas or Buddhistic monuments as having ousted the temples of the gods. Thus in III. 190.65 'They will revere edūkas, they will neglect the gods;' *ib.* 67 'the earth shall be piled with edūkas, not adorned with godhouses.' With such expressions may be compared the thoroughly Buddhistic epithet Cāturmahārājika in XII. 339.40 and Buddhistic philosophy as expounded in the same book."

"The Greeks are described as a western people and their overthrow is alluded to.....The Romans, Romakas, are mentioned but once, in a formal list of all possible peoples II. 51.[3], and stand thus in marked contrast to Greeks and Persians. Pahlavas, who are mentioned very often.....The distinct prophecy that 'Scythians, Greeks and Bactrians will rule unrighteously in the evil age to come' which occurs in III. 188. 35 is too clear a statement to be ignored or explained away."

The Ādiparva (I.67. 13-14) refers to King Aśoka who is represented as an incarnation of a Mahāsura, and is described as "mahāvîryo'parājitaḥ." We have also a reference (Mbh., I. 139. 21-23) to a Greek overlord (Yavanādhipaḥ) of Sauvîra and his compatriot Dattāmitra (Demetrios?). The Śāntiparva mentions Yāska, the author of

1 For other Purāṇic allusions see Calcutta Review, March, 1922, pp. 505-502.

2 Great Epic of India, pp. 391-93.

3 It is interesting to note in this connection that in the Devīmāhātmya of Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (88.5) *Maurya* is the name of a class of *Asuras*.

Kālakā Dauhritā Mauryāḥ Kālakeyāstathāsurāḥ.
Yuddhāya sajjā niryāntu ājñāyā tvaritāmama.

Note also the expression *suradvisham* used by the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (1.3.24) in reference to people "beguiled" by the Buddha.

the Nirukta (342. 73), Vārshagaṇya (318. 59) the Sāṁkhya philosopher who probably flourished in the fifth century after Christ [1] and Kāmandaka (128. 11), the authority on Dharma and Artha, who is probably to be identified with the famous disciple of Kauṭilya.

The Purāṇas which contain lists of kings of the Kali Age cannot be placed earlier than the third or fourth century A.D., because they refer to the Andhra kings and even to the post-Andhras.

It is clear from what has been stated above that the Epics and Purāṇas, in their present shape, are late works which are no better suited to serve as the foundation of the history of the pre-Bimbisārian age than the tales of the Mahāvaṁsa and the Aśokāvadāna are adapted to form the bases of chronicles of the doings of the great Maurya. At the same time we shall not be justified in rejecting their evidence wholesale because much of it is undoubtedly old and valuable. The warning to handle critically, which Dr. Smith considered necessary with regard to the Ceylonese chronicles, is certainly applicable to the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas.

In a recent work Dr. Keith shows excessive scepticism about the historical value of the Epics and the Purāṇas, and wonders at the naïve simplicity of those who believe in the historicity of any event not explicitly mentioned in the Vedas, *e.g.*, the Bhārata War. It cannot be denied that the Epics and the Purāṇas, in their present shape, contain a good deal of what is untrustworthy; but it has been rightly said that "it is absurd to suppose that fiction completely ousted the truth." The epigraphic or numismatic records of the Śātavāhanas, Ābhîras, Vākāṭakas, Nāgas, Guptas and many other Dynasties fully bear out the observation of Dr. Smith that "Modern European writers have

[1] J.R.A.S., 1905, pp. 47-51.

been inclined to disparage unduly the authority of the Purāṇic lists, but closer study finds in them much genuine and valuable historical tradition." As to the Bhārata War we have indeed no epigraphic corroboration, because contemporary inscriptions are lacking. But, as will be pointed out in a subsequent chapter, Vedic literature contains many hints that the story of the great conflict is not wholly fictitious. Many of the principal figures in the Kurukshetra story, *e. g.*, Dhṛitarāshṭra Vaichitravîrya and Kṛishṇa Devakîputra, are mentioned in some of the early Vedic texts, and battle songs describing the internecine strife among the Bhāratas and the tragic end of Dhṛitarāshṭra's progeny must have been current at least as early as the fifth century B.C., because Vaiśampāyana and his version of the Mahābhārata are well-known to Āśvalāyana and Pāṇini. If the Bhārata War took place in the 9th century B.C. (see *infra*), tradition about the conflict dating from a period not later than the fifth century B.C. cannot be dismissed as wholly unworthy of credence.

Pargiter, on the other hand, is inclined to give more weight to Purāṇic tradition than to Vedic evidence; and his conclusions have apparently been accepted by Dr. Barnett.[1] It has recently been urged by the former[2] that Vedic literature "lacks the historical sense" and "is not always to be trusted." But do the Purāṇas which represent Śākya as one individual, include Siddhārtha in the list of kings, make Prasenajit the immediate lineal successor of Rāhula, place Pradyota several generations before Bimbisāra, dismiss Aśoka with one sentence and represent Śrī Śātakarṇi as the son of Kṛishṇa, possess the historical sense in a remarkable degree, and "always to be trusted"? Pargiter himself, not unoften

1 Calcutta Review, Feb., 1924, p. 249.

2 Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 9 ff.

rejects Epic and Purāṇic evidence [1] when it is opposed to certain theories. In this connection it will not be quite out of place to quote the following observations of Mr. V. Gordon Childe.[2] "The Kṣatriya tradition (*i.e.*, Epic and Purāṇic tradition).....is hardly an unpolluted source of history. The orthodox view is not really based on the priestly tradition, as embodied in epexegetical works, but rather on the internal evidence of the Veda itself. The latter carries conviction precisely because the historical and geographical references in the hymns are introduced only incidentally and in a thoroughly ingenuous manner.....The same cannot be said of Kṣatriya tradition, which in its recorded form dates from an age (perhaps as late as 200 A.D.) when myth-making had had many centuries to work in, and which might serve dynastic ends." Priority of date and comparative freedom from textual corruption are two strong points in favour of Vedic literature.

III. The third class of literature comprises Brāhmaṇical works of the Post-Bimbisārian period to which a date in a definite epoch may be assigned, *e.g.*, the Kauṭilîya Arthaśāstra assignable to the period, 300 B.C. to 100 A.D.,[3] the Mahābhāshya of Patañjali (second century B.C.), etc. The value of these important works can hardly be overesti-

1. *Cf.* A.I.H.T., pp. 173, n. 1; 299, n. 7.

2. The Aryans, p. 32.

3. According to some scholars the Arthaśāstra literature is later than the Dharmaśāstras, and dates only from about the third century A.D. But the prevalence of the study of *Arthavidyā* in a much earlier epoch is proved by the Junāgaḍh Inscription of Rudradāman I, and the existence of treatises on Arthaśāstra is rendered probable by the mention of technical terms like "Praṇaya," "Vishṭi," etc. It is interesting to note that the Kauṭilîya, which purports to be a compendium of pre-existing Arthaśāstras, does not quote the views of previous Āchāryas in the chapter on "Praṇaya" (Bk. V, Ch. 2). It is, therefore, not unlikely that Rudradāman I, who claims to have studied the Arthavidyā, learnt the use of the term from the Kauṭilîya itself and not from a pre-Kauṭilyan treatise. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Junāgaḍh epigraphs show a special acquaintance with

mated. They form sheet anchors in the troubled sea of Indian chronology. Their evidence with regard to the pre-Bimbisārian age is certainly inferior to that of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads, but the very fact that such information as they contain comes from persons of known date, makes it more valuable than the Epic and Purāṇic tradition, the antiquity and authenticity of which can always be called in question.

IV. To the fourth class belong the Buddhist Suttas, ...naya texts and the Jātakas. Most of these works are ...nable to pre-Śuṅga times. They furnish a good deal ...seful information regarding the period which immediately preceded the accession of Bimbisāra. They have also the merit of preserving Buddhist versions of ancient stories, and vouchsafe light when the light from Brāhmaṇical sources begins to fail.

V. To the fifth class belong works of the Jaina canon which were reduced to writing in A.D. 454.[1] They also give valuable information regarding many kings who lived during the pre-Bimbisārian Age. But their late date makes their evidence not wholly reliable.

the Arthaśāstra literature. The Junāgaḍh Inscription of Skanda-gupta, for instance, refers to the testing of officials by *upadhās* (sarv-opadhābhiśchа viśuddha-buddhib) The verse

Nyāy-ārjane-rthasya cha kaḥ samarthaḥ
Syād-arjitasy-āpy-atha rakat>ne cha
Gopāyitasy-Āpi cha vriddhi-hetau
Vriddhasya pātra-pratipādanāya

reminds us of Kaut., I. 1 :—

Dandanītiḥ; alabdha-lābhārthā, labdha-parirakshaṇi, rakshita-vivardhanī dhasya tīrtheshu pratipādani cha.

Johnston (J.R.A.S., 1929, 1, January) thinks that the Kautilīya Arthāśāstra is not separated by a great interval from Aśvaghosha, and is distinctly earlier than the Jātakamālā of Āryaśūra.

1 S.B.E., Vol. XXII, p. xxxvii; XLV, p. xl.

The Age of the Pārikshitas.

Janaḥsa bhadramedhati rāshṭre rājñaḥ Parikshitaḥ
—Atharva Veda.

We have taken as our starting point the **reign of Parikshit** whose accession, according to tradition, took place shortly after the Bhārata War.

Was there really a king named Parikshit? True, he is mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. But mere mention of a king in this kind of literature is no proof of his historical existence unless we have external evidence to corroborate the Epic and the Purāṇic account.

Parikshit appears in a famous laud of the Twentieth Book of the Atharva Veda Saṁhitā[1] as a king of the Kurus (Kauravya) whose *rāshṭra* flowed with milk and honey. We quote the entire passage below :—

"Rājño viśvajanînasya yo devomartyāṁ ati
Vaiśvānarasya sushṭutimā sunotā Parikshitaḥ
Parichchhinnaḥ kshemamakarot tama āsanamācharan
Kulāyan kṛiṇvan Kauravyaḥ patirvadati jāyayā
Katarat ta āharāṇi dadhi manthāṁ pari śrutam
Jāyāḥ patiṁ vi pṛichchhati rāshṭre rājñaḥ Parikshitaḥ
Abhîvasvaḥ pra jihîte yavaḥ pakkaḥ patho bilam
Janaḥ sa bhadramedhati rāshṭre rājñaḥ Parikshitaḥ."

"Listen ye to the high praise of the king who rules over all peoples, the god who is above mortals, of Vaiśvānara Parikshit! Parikshit has produced for us a secure dwelling when he, the most excellent one, went to his seat. (Thus) the husband in Kuru land, when he founds his household, converses with his wife.

[1] A.V., XX, 127, 7-10.

"What may I bring to thee, curds, stirred drink or liquor? (Thus) the wife asks her husband in the kingdom of king Parikshit.

"Like light the ripe barley runs over beyond the mouth (of the vessels). The people thrive merrily in the kingdom of king Parikshit."[1]

Roth and Bloomfield regard Parikshit in the Atharva Veda as a divine being. But Zimmer and Oldenberg recognize Parikshit as a human king, a view supported by the fact that in the Aitareya and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas the famous king Janamejaya bears the patronymic Pārikshita. *Cf.* the following passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 21) :—

"Etena ha vā Aindreṇa mahābhishekeṇa Turaḥ Kāvasheyo Janamejayaṁ Pārikshitam abhishishecha."

Referring to king Parikshit, Macdonell and Keith observe :[2] "The Epic makes him grandfather of Pratiśravas and great-grandfather of Pratīpa." Now, the Epic has really two Parikshits, one a son of Avikshit or Anaśva and an ancestor of Pratiśravas and Pratīpa, the other a descendant of Pratīpa and a son of Abhimanyu.[3] We shall call the former Parikshit I, and the latter Parikshit II. Was Parikshit I of the Epic identical with the Vedic Parikshit? The Vedic Parikshit had four sons, namely, Janamejaya, Ugrasena, Bhīmasena and Śrutasena.[4] The Epic Parikshit I, on the other hand, had only one son (Bhīmasena) according to Chapter 95, verse 42 of the Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata, and seven sons (Janamejaya, Kakshasena, Ugrasena, Chitrasena, Indrasena, Sushena and Bhīmasena) according to Chapter 94, verses 54-5 and among these the name of Śrutasena does not o[ccur]

1 Bloomfield, Atharva Veda, pp. 197-98.
2 Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 494.
3 Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, 94, 52 and 95, 41.
4 Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 520.

Even Janamejaya is omitted in Chapter 95 and in the Java text.[1] There is no king of that name immediately after Parikshit I, also in the Kuru-Pāṇḍu genealogy given in the Chellur or Cocanada grant of Vīrachoḍa.[2] The Epic poet, and the writer of the Choḍa inscription which is much older than many extant manuscripts of the Mahābhārata, therefore, were not quite sure whether this Parikshit (I) was the father of Janamejaya and Śrutasena. On the other hand, according to the unanimous testimony of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas Parikshit II had undoubtedly a son named Janamejaya who succeeded him on the throne. Thus the Mahābhārata, referring to Parikshit II, the son of Abhimanyu, says (I. 95. 85) :—

"Parikshit khalu Mādravatîṁ nāmopayeme tvanmātaram. Tasyāṁ bhavān Janamejayaḥ."

The Matsya Purāṇa says (Mat., 50. 57) :—

"Abhimanyoḥ Parikshittu putraḥ parapurañjayaḥ
Janamejayaḥ Parikshitaḥ putraḥ paramadhārmikaḥ."

This Janamejaya had three brothers, namely Śrutasena, Ugrasena and Bhīmasena :—"Janamejayaḥ Pārikshitaḥ saha bhrātṛibhiḥ Kurukshetre dīrgha satram upāste tasya bhrātara strayaḥ Śrutasena Ugrasena Bhīmasena iti" (Mbh., I. 3. 1).

Particulars regarding the son and successor of the Vedic Parikshit agree well with what we know of the son and successor of the Epic and the Purāṇic Parikshit II. Janamejaya, the son of the Vedic Parikshit, is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa as a performer of the Aśvamedha. The priest who performed the sacrifice for him was Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka. On the other hand, the

[1] J.R.A.S., 1913, p. 6.
[2] Hultzsch, S.I.I., Vol. I, p. 57.

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, which also mentions his Aśvamedh names Tura Kāvasheya as his priest. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa (IX. 22. 25-26), too, distinctly mentions Tura Kāvasheya as the priest of Janamejaya, the grandson of Abhimanyu and the son of Parikshit II.

Kāvasheyaṁ purodhāya Turaṁ turaga medhayāt
Samantāt prithivīṁ sarvāṁ jitvā yakshyati chādhvar. ss

The statements of the Śatapatha and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas are apparently conflicting, and can only be reconciled if we surmise that Janamejaya performed two horse sacrifices. Is there any evidence that he actually did so? Curiously enough the Purāṇas give the evidence which is needed. The Matsya Purāṇa speaking of Janamejaya, the grandson of Abhimanyu and the son of Parikshit II, says :

Dvir aśvamedham āhritya mahāvājasaneyakaḥ
Pravartayitvā taṁ sarvam ṛishim Vājasaneyakam
Vivāde Brāhmaṇaiḥ sārddham abhiśapto vanaṁ yayau.
(Mat., 50. 63-64.)[1]

The quarrel with the Brāhmaṇas, alluded to in the last line, is also mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 27).

Parikshit II has thus a better claim than Parikshit I to be regarded as identical with the Vedic Parikshit. It is, however, possible that Parikshit I and Parikshit II were really one and the same individual, but the Epic and the Purāṇic poets had some doubts as to whether he was to be regarded as an ancestor or a descendant of the Pāṇḍavas. The fact that not only the name Parikshit, but the names of most of the sons (in the Vishṇu Purāṇa the names of all the sons) are common to both, points

[1] *Cf.* N. K. Siddhanta, The Heroic Age of India, p. 24.

the same conclusion. We shall show later on that a Kuru prince named Abhipratārin Kākshaseni (*i.e.*, the son of Kakshasena) was one of the immediate successors of the Vedic Janamejaya. Kakshasena thus appears to have been a very near relation of Janamejaya. Now a prince ... at name actually appears as a brother of Janamejaya ... son of Parikshit I, in Chapter 94 of the Mahābhārata. This fact seems to identify the Vedic Parikshit with Parikshit I of the Epic. But we have already seen that other facts are in favour of an identification with Parikshit II. Parikshit I and Parikshit II, therefore, appear to have been really one and the same individual.[1] That there was a good deal of confusion regarding the parentage of Parikshit, and the exact position of the king and his sons in the Kuru genealogy is apparent from the dynastic lists given by the Great Epic and the Vishṇu Purāṇa. The latter work says (IV. 20. 1) "Parikshito Janamejaya Śrutasen-Ograsena-Bhîmasenāś chatvāraḥ putrāḥ." It then gives the names of Kuru princes down to the Pāṇḍus and Parikshit II and adds (IV. 21. 1) "Ataḥparaṁ bhavishyān ahaṁ bhumipālān kîrtayishye. Yo 'yaṁ sāmpratam avanîpatiḥ tasyāpi Janamejaya-Śrutasen-Ograsena-Bhîmasenāḥ putrāś chatvāro bhavisyanti." The confusion may have been due to the fact that according to one tradition Parikshit, the father of Janamejaya, was the ancestor of the Pāṇḍus, while according to another, and a more reliable, tradition he was their descendant, and the Epic and the Purāṇic writers sought to reconcile the traditions by postulating the existence of two Parikshits and two Janamejayas. The important fact to remember is that Parikshit, with whose accession our history begins, should be identified with his Vedic namesake.[1] This

[1] The necessity felt for offering an explanation of the name of Abhimanyu's son and the explanation itself probably suggest that the tradition of an earlier Kuru king with the name of Parikshit had not yet come into existence (*cf.* Mbh., X. 16.3).

conclusion follows from facts to which reference has already been made. We have seen that all the known facts about Parikshit II, the king who ruled after the Bhārata War, and his sons tally with what we know about the Vedic Parikshit and his sons.[1] There cannot be any reasonable doubt as to his historical reality.

Parikshit is said to have married a Madra princess (Mādravatī) and to have ruled for 24 years dying at the

1 The identification of the Vedic Parikshit with the son of Abhimanyu does not seem probable to Mr. N Dutt, the author of the *Aryanisation of India*, because in the first place, it goes against the findings of Macdonell, Keith and Pargiter who prefer to identify the Vedic Parikshit with an ancestor of the Pāṇḍus. As to this it may be pointed out that the existence of a Parikshit (father of Janamejaya) *before* the Pāṇḍus, rests on the testimony of those very genealogies which are regarded by Keith as worthless and unreliable. That the name of Janamejaya in *this* connection is an intrusion into the genealogical texts is evident from its omission from Chapter 95 of the Mahābhārata the Java text, the Chellur grant, etc.

Mr. Dutt next argues that the Vishṇupurāṇa makes the four brothers Janamejaya, Śrutasena, etc., sons of Parikshit I. If he had only perused the subsequent passages he would have seen that the Purāṇa makes the four brothers sons of "Parikshit II" as well, and while this later statement finds corroboration in the Mahābhārata, the earlier does not.

Mr. Dutt next says that it is always risky to attempt identification of kings or the fixing of their dates from an examination of their teacher-priests' names. But why should it be risky if the names and order of succession be genuine? The real risk lies in the rejection of such evidence without sufficient examination. It should be remembered in this connection that the identification of the Vedic Parikshita Janamejaya with his Epic namesake (descendant of Abhimanyu) does not depend mainly on the teacher-priests' names, but on the following facts, viz., (1) absence of any cogent proof of the existence of an earlier Janamejaya Pārikshita in view of the omission of his name in the Java text, etc., and (2) agreement of particulars about the Vedic Parikshit and Janamejaya, (e.g., the performance of two Aśvamedhas) with what we know of Parikshit and Janamejaya who were descendants of Abhimanyu. The question of the chronological relation between the Vedic Parikshit and the Vedic Janaka is entirely independent of this identification. This relation has been determined on the strength of two different lines of evidence. Materials for one have indeed been taken from the *Vaṁśa* lists of the Brāhmaṇas. But the succession from Indrota to Soma-śushma has been reconstructed from the internal evidence of incidental notices in the Brāhmaṇa texts themselves which no critic has represented as late.

Mr. Dutt adds that identity of names does not necessarily imply identity of persons. This is a truism which is not remembered only by those who identify

age of sixty (Mbh., I. 49. 17-26 with commentary). But stories about him in the Epic and the Purāṇas are obviously legendary. The only facts that can be accepted as historical are that he was a king of the Kurus, that the people lived prosperously under his rule, that he had many sons, and that the eldest prince Janamejaya suceeded him.

It will not be quite out of place here to say a few words about the **kingdom of Kuru** over which Parikshit ruled. The kingdom extended from the Sarasvatī to the

Dhṛitarāshṭra Vaichitravīrya with Dhṛitarāshṭra of Kāsi. It has never been suggested in the *Political History* that the Vedic and Epic Parikshits and Janamejayas are identical merely because their names are identical.

As to Mr. Dutt's contention that there could not be want of motives in later times on the part of the authors belonging to rival families and schools to associate a certain teacher-priest with a famous king of old, etc., it is not clear which particular case he has in mind in making the statement. The association of Indrota and Tura with Janamejaya, and that of Uddālaka and Yājñavalkya with Janaka is found in the Śatapatha and Aitareya *Brāhmaṇas* and in the *Upanishads*. Is it suggested that such association is a deliberate concoction or fabrication? But no shred of evidence has been brought forward to prove such a charge. No doubt misrepresentations are met with in the *Epics and the Purāṇas* (as pointed out by Pargiter). But it would not be reasonable to argue that the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upanishads* are guilty of deliberate falsification because forsooth there is confusion in the *Purāṇas*. Lastly the credibility of the Vaṁśa lists in the Vedic texts has been assailed on the following grounds, *viz.*—

(1) Silence of Commentators.

(2) Discrepancy between the lists appended to the 10th and 14th books respectively of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

(3) Ascription of works to different teachers.

(4) Scant courtesy shown to an alleged teacher by his pupil.

As to (1) the Ācharya Paramparā is distinctly alluded to by the commentators. If they did not enter into a detailed explanation it is because they considered it to be *Sugamam, Spashṭam*.

(2) There is *no* Vaṁśa list at the close of the 14th book. The question of discrepancy, therefore, does not arise.

(3) The Brāhmaṇa texts are not works of single individuals. Reference to different traditions regarding the authorship of a particular work does not necessarily vitiate any Ācharya-Paramparā regarding which we have substantial agreement in the texts.

(4) It is too much to expect that in ancient, as in modern times, all pupils should be equally respectful to teachers. Was not Dhṛishṭadyumna a pupil of Droṇāchārya whom he killed?

Ganges, and was divided into three parts, Kurujāṅgala, the Kurus and Kurukshetra (Mbh., I. 109. 1). Kurujāṅgala, as its name implies, was the wild region of the Kuru realm extending as far as the Kāmyaka forest. But in certain passages it is used in a wider sense to designate the entire kingdom. The Kurus proper were probably located in the district round Hāstinapura (identified with a place near Meerut). The boundaries of Kurukshetra are given in a passage of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka[1] as being Khāṇḍava on the south, the Tūrghna on the north, and the Parīṇah on the west. The Mahābhārata (III. 83. 204-208) gives the following description of Kurukshetra: "South of the Sarasvatī and North of the Dṛishadvatī, he who lives in Kurukshetra really lives in heaven. The region that lies between Taruntuka and Arantuka, the lakes of Rāma and Machakruka—this is Kurukshetra which is also called Sāmanta-pañchaka and the northern sacrificial altár (uttara vedi) of the grandsire (*i.e.*, Brahmā)." Roughly speaking, the Kuru kingdom corresponded to modern Thanesar, Delhi and the upper Doāb. Within the kingdom flowed the rivers Hiranvatī, Kauśikī, Aruṇā, Apayā and the Pastyā as well as the Sarasvatī and the Dṛishadvatī. Here, too, was situated Saryaṇāvant, which the authors of the Vedic Index consider to have been a lake, like that known to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa by the name of Anyatah-plakshā.

The capital of the Kingdom was Āsandīvant.[2] This city was probably identical with Hāstinapura, the capital which was abandoned by Nichakshu, the famous descendant of Parikshit, when he removed to Kauśāmbī:

1 Vedic Index, I. pp. 169-70.
2 Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 72.

CENTRAL LIBRARY

Gaṅgayāpahṛite tasmin nagare Nāgasāhvaye.
Tyaktvā Nichakshu nagaraṁ Kauśāmbyāṁ sa nivatsyati.

(Pargiter. Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 5.)

According to epic tradition the kings of Kuru-kshetra belonged to the **Pūru-Bharata** family. The Paurava connection of the Kurus is suggested by the Ṛigvedic hymn (X. 33), which refers to "Kuru-śravaṇa" as a descendant of Trasadasyu, a famous king of the Pūrus. The connection of the Bharatas with the Kurus is also attested by Vedic evidence. Oldenberg says:[1]—"We find in the Ṛik-Saṁhitā trace of a peculiar position occupied by the Bharatas, a special connection of theirs with important points of sacred significance, which are recognized throughout the whole circle of ancient Vedic culture. Agni is Bhārata, *i.e.*, propitious or belonging to the Bharata or Bharatas; among the protecting deities who are invoked in the Āprī-odes, we find Bhāratī, the personified divine protective power of the Bharatas. We find the Sarasvatī constantly named in connection with her; must not the sacred river Sarasvatī be the river of the holy people, the Bharatas? In one ode of the Maṇḍala, which specially extols the Bharatas (III. 23), the two Bhāratas, Devaçravas and Devavāta, are spoken of, who have generated Agni by friction: on the Dṛishadvatī, on the Āpayā, on the Sarasvatī may Agni beam. We find thus Bharata princes sacrificing in the land on the Dṛishadvatī and on the Sarasvatī. Now the land on the Dṛishadvatī and on the Sarasvatī is that which is later on so highly celebrated as Kuru-kshetra. Thus the testimonies of the Saṁhitā and the Brāhmaṇa combine to establish the close connection of the ideas Bharata, Kuru, Sarasvatī.

"Out of the struggles in which the migratory period of the Vedic stocks was passed, the Bharatas issued, as we

[1] Buddha, pp. 409-10.

believe we are entitled to suppose the course of events to have been, as the possessors of the regions round the Sarasvatī and Dṛishadvatī. The weapons of the Bharata princes and the poetical fame of their Ṛishis may have co-operated to acquire for the cult of the Bharatas the character of universally acknowledged rule, and for the Bharatas a kind of sacral hegemony : hence Agni as friend of the Bharatas, the goddess Bhāratī, the sacredness of the Sarasvatī and Dṛishadvatī.

"Then came the period, when the countless small stocks of the Saṁhitā age were fused together to form the greater peoples of the Brāhmaṇa period. The Bharatas found their place, probably together with their old enemies, the Pūrus, within the great complex of peoples now in process of formation, the Kurus ; their sacred land now became Kurukshetra."

Among those kings who are mentioned in the Mahābhārata [1] as ancestors and predecessors of Parikshit, the names of the following occur in the Vedic literature :—

Purū-ravas Aila (Ṛig-Veda, X. 95; Śat. Br., XI. 5.1.1), Āyu (Ṛig-Veda, I. 53. 10; II. 14. 7, etc.), Yayāti Nahushya (R. V., I. 31. 17; X. 63. 1), Pūru (R. V., VII. 8. 4; 18.13), Bharata Dauḥshanti Saudyumni (Śat. Br., XIII. 5.4. 11-12), Ajamīḍha (R. V., IV. 44.6), Ṛiksha (R. V., VIII. 68-15), Kuru (frequently mentioned in the Brāhmaṇa literature, *cf.* Kuru-śravaṇa, Ṛig-Veda, X. 33), Uchchaiḥśravas (Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa, III. 29. 1-3), Pratīpa Prātisatvana or Prātisutvana (Atharva-Veda, XX. 129. 2), Balhika Prātipīya (Śat. Br., XII. 9. 3. 3), Śaṁtanu (R. V., X.98), and Dhṛitarāshṭra Vaichitravīrya (Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā, X. 6).

The occurrence of these names in the Vedic texts probably proves their historicity, but it is difficult to say how far the epic account of their relationship with Parikshit is

[1] Ādiparva, Chapters 94 and 95.

reliable. But some of the kings, *e.g.*, Saṁtanu were undoubtedly of the same race (Kauravya) as Parikshit.

Purū-ravas Aila, the first king in the above list, is said to have been the son of a ruler who migrated from Bāhli or Bactria to India.[1] Tradition recorded in the Papañcha-sūdanī represents the Kurus—the most important branch of the Ailas according to the Epics and the Purāṇas—as colonists from the trans-Himālayan region known as Uttara Kuru.[2] Bharata, the fifth king in the above list, firmly established his power in the "Middle country," *i.e.*, the Doāb between the Ganges and the Jumna, after defeating the Śaivaś, and the epic tradition that he was the progenitor of the Kuru royal family is, as we have seen, in agreement with Rig-Vedic evidence which connects the Bharatas with the same territory which afterwards became famous as Kuru-kshetra. The history of the Kuru royal line becomes more definite from the time of Saṁtanu who was fifth in the ascending line from Parikshit. Regarding the events of Parikshit's reign we have little reliable information. We only know that the drought that threatened the Kuru realm in the time of Saṁtanu had passed away and the "people throve merrily in the kingdom of Parikshit."

The **date of Parikshit** is a matter regarding which the Vedic texts give no direct information. There is, however, a remarkable verse, found with slight variants in all the historical Purāṇas, which places his birth 1050 (or 1015 according to the *e* Vāyu, Vishṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas) years before Mahāpadma, the first Nanda king of Magadha.

Mahāpadm-ābhishekāttu
Yāvajjanma Parīkshitaḥ
Evaṁ varsha sahāsraṁtu
Jñeyam pañcāśaduttaram.

(Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 58.)

[1] Rām., VII, 103, 21-22. [2] Law, Ancient Mid-Indian Kshattiya Tribes, p. 16.

If, accepting the Ceylonese chronology (Geiger, Mahāvaṁsa, p. 27), we place the first Nanda twenty-two years before the accession of Chandragupta Maurya, *i.e.*, in 322+22=344 B.C., Parikshit's birth must be dated about 1394 B.C. (1359 B.C. according to the *e* Vāyu and Vishṇu Purāṇas). If, on the other hand, we give credence to the testimony of the Vāyu Purāṇa (99. 328-329, "Ashṭāviṁśatī varshāṇi pṛithivīṁ pālayishyati," etc.), and take 40 years (Mahāpadma, 28+his sons' 12) to be the reign-period of Nanda and his sons, then Parikshit's birth must be dated about 322+40+1,050=1412 B. C. (1377 B. C. according to the *e* Vayu and Vishṇu Puraṇas). He is said to have come to the throne 36 years later in 1376 or 1341 B. C. (*cf.* Mahābhārata, Maushalaparva, "Shaṭtriṁśe tvatha samprāpte varshe," etc., and Mahā-prastbānika-parva, "abhishichya svarājye cha rājānañcha Parikshitam"). It is clear that the Epic and the Purāṇic tradition places the accession of Parikshit about the middle of the 14th century B.C.[1] Vedic evidence, however, points to a much later date. We shall show in the next chapter that Parikshit's son and successor Janamejaya was separated by five or six generations of teachers from the time of Janaka and his contempo-

[1] The Purāṇic date cannot be regarded as sacrosanct. The Bṛihat-Saṁhitā (6th century A. D.) which follows earlier works, places the period of Yudhishṭhira 2526 years before the Śaka era.

Āsan Maghāsu munayaḥ śāsati pṛithvīṁ Yudhishṭhire nṛipatau
Saḍ-dvika-pañcha-dviyutaḥ Śaka-kālastasya rājñaścha
Bṛih.-S., XIII, 3.

In the Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśin II., dated Śaka 556 (expired) = A.D. 634-35, it is stated that at that time 3735 years had passed since the Bhārata war :

Triṁśatsu tri-sahasreshu Bhāratād āhavād itaḥ
Saptābda-śata-yukteshu gateshvabdeshu pañchasu
Ep. Ind., VI, pp. 11,12.

The conclusion is irresistible that there was no unanimity regarding the traditional date of the Bhārata war in the Gupta-Chālukya period, and there was a tendency to push the date farther and farther back.

BCU 167

rary Uddālaka Āruṇi. At the end of the Kaushītaki or Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka (Adhyāya 15) we find a vaṁśa or list of the teachers by whom the knowledge contained in that Āraṇyaka is supposed to have been handed down. The opening words of this list run thus :—

"Om ! Now follows the vaṁśa. Adoration to the Brahman. Adoration to the teachers ! We have learnt this text from Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana, Gunākhya Śāṅkhāyana from Kahola Kaushītaki, Kahola Kaushītaki from Uddālaka Āruṇi."

(S. B. E., Vol. XXIX, p. 4.)

From the passage quoted above it is clear that Śāṅkhāyana was separated by two generations from the time of Uddālaka who was separated by five or six generations from the time of Janamejaya. Śāṅkhāyana, therefore, flourished seven or eight generations after Parikshit. If this Śāṅkhāyana (Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana) be identical with the author of the Śāṅkhāyana Gṛihya Sūtra he must have been a contemporary of Āśvalāyana because they mention each other in their respective works. The Praśna Upanishad tells us that Āśvalāyana was a Kausalya, *i.e.*, an inhabitant of Kosala, and a contemporary of Kabandhī Kātyāyana. These facts enable us to identify him with Assalāyana of Sāvatthi mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya (II. 147 *et seq.*), as a famous Vedic scholar,[1] and a contemporary of Gotama Buddha and, hence, of Kakuda [2] or Pakudha Kachchāyana. Consequently Āśvalāyana must have lived in the sixth century B.C. If the identification of Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana with the Gṛihya Sūtra-kāra be correct, then he, too, must have lived in the sixth century B.C.[3] Professor Rhys Davids in his Buddhist Suttas

GS 2441

1 "Tiṇṇaṁ Vedānaṁ pāragū sanighaṇḍu ketubhānaṁ."

2 As to the equation kabandhī = kakuda, comp. Atharva V. (IX, 4, 3) where the *ṛishabha* sustains a *kabandha* of "goodly treasure."

3 In this connection it is interesting to note that among the teachers cited in

assigns 150 years to the five Theras from Upāli to Mahinda. We may, therefore, assign 240 or 270 years to the eight or nine generations from Parikshit to Śāṅkhāyana, and place Parikshit in the ninth century B.C. It is, doubtless, possible that Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana was not identical with the Gṛihya Sūtra-kāra.[1] But the reference to Paushkarasādi and Lauhitya, who figure among the contemporaries of Buddha, in his Āraṇyaka, probably shows that Guṇākhya could not have flourished earlier than the sixth century B.C.

Parikshit was succeeded on the Kuru throne by his eldest son **Janamejaya**. The Mahābhārata refers to a great snake-sacrifice performed by this king. In this connection it is mentioned that the king conquered Taxila. Although a passage of the Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa connects a Janamejaya with the snake-sacrifice,[2] the epic account of the Kuru king's Sarpa-satra cannot be accepted as sober history. But the conquest of Taxila may well be an historical fact, because King Janamejaya is represented as a great conqueror in the Brāhmaṇas. Thus the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa says (VIII. 21) "Janamejayaḥ Pārikshitaḥ samantaṁ sarvataḥ pṛithivīṁ jayan parīyāyāśvena cha medhyeneje tadeshā'bhi yajña gāthā gīyate :

Āsandīvati dhānyādaṁ rukmiṇaṁ harita srajam
Aśvaṁ babandha sāraṅgaṁ devebhyo Janamejaya iti"

"Janamejaya Pārikshita went round the earth completely, conquering on every side, and offered the horse in sacrifice. Regarding this a sacrificial verse is sung :

the Āraṇyaka of Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana there are two whose names seem to occur in the Buddhist suttas as those of Buddha's contemporaries, *e.g.*, Paushkarasādi of Ambaṭṭhasutta, and Lauhikya (Lauhitya) of Lohichcha sutta.

1 *Cf.* S.B.E., XXIX, pp. 4-5.

2 Vedic Index, I, p. 274.

"In Āsandīvat Janamejaya bound for the gods a black-spotted grain-eating horse, adorned with a golden ornament and with yellow garlands." [1]

In another passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 11) it is stated that Janamejaya aspired to be a "Sarva-bhūmi," *i.e.*, a paramount sovereign.

"Evaṁvidaṁ hi vai mā mevaṁvida yājayanti tasmād ahaṁ jayāmyabhītvarīṁ senāṁ jayāmyabhītvaryā senayā namā divyā na mānushya ishava richchhantye shyāmi sarva māyuḥ sarva bhūmir bhavishyāmīti."

(Janamejaya Pārikshita used to say) "Those who know thus sacrifice for me who know thus; therefore I conquer the assailing host, I conquer with an assailing host. Me neither the arrows of heaven nor of men reach. I shall live all my life, I shall become lord of all the earth."

The possession of Taxila in the extreme north-west implies control over Madra or the Central Pañjāb, the home-land of Janamejaya's mother Mādravatī. In this connection it may be noted that a prince of the Paurava race ruled in the Rechna Doāb down to the time of Alexander, while Ptolemy, the geographer, expressly mentions the Pāṇḍus as the rulers of Śākala (Siālkoṭ).

It was presumably after his victorious campaigns that Janamejaya was consecrated with the Punar-abhisheka and the Aindra-mahābhiseka, performed two horse-sacrifices and had a dispute with Vaiśampāyana and the Brāhmaṇas. The Matsya version, which is considered by Pargiter to be the oldest, says the king made a successful stand against them for some time, but afterwards gave in and, making his son king, departed to the forest; but the Vāyu verson says he perished and the Brāhmaṇas made his son king. The Purāṇic narrative is strikingly confirmed by the evidence of the Brāhmaṇas. The

[1] Keith, Ṛig-Veda Brāhmaṇas, 336; Eggeling, Śat. Br., V, p. 396.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa refers to one of the horse-sacrifices, and says that the priest who performed the sacrifice for him was Indrota Daivāpi Śaunaka. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa mentions the other sacrifice and names Tura Kāvasheya as his priest. It also contains a tale stating that at one sacrifice of his he did not employ the Kaśyapas, but the Bhūtavīras. Thereupon a family of the Kaśyapas called Asita-mṛiga forcibly took away the conduct of the offering from the Bhūtavīras. We have here probably the germ of the Purāṇic stories about Janamejaya's dispute with the Brāhmaṇas. An allusion to this quarrel occurs also in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (*cf.* "Kopāj-Janamejayo Brāhmaṇeshu vikrāntaḥ").

The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa narrates an anecdote of Janamejaya and two ganders, pointing out the importance of Brahmacharya, and the time which should be devoted to it. The story is absurd, but it shows that Janamejaya was already looked upon as an ancient hero in the time of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. The Rāmāyaṇa also refers to Janamejaya as a great king of the past (II. 64.42).

Janamejaya's capital according to a gāthā quoted in the Śatapatha and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas was Āsandīvat, probably identical with the famous city of Hāstinapura mentioned not only in the Mahābhārata, but also in the Rāmāyaṇa, II. 68.13, and the Ashṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini, VI. 2. 101. The gāthā has been quoted above in connection with the king's conquests. Its meaning is given below :—

"In Āsandīvat Janamejaya bound for the gods a black-spotted, grain-eating horse, adorned with a golden ornament and with yellow garlands." [1]

The palace of Janamejaya is referred to in the following passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa :

[1] Eggeling, Sat. Br., V, p. 369.

"Even as they constantly sprinkle the equal prize-winning steeds so (they pour out) the cups full of fiery liquor in the palace of Janamejaya." [1]

If the Mahābhārata is to be believed Janamejaya sometimes held his court at Taxila, and it was at Taxila that Vaiśampāyana is said to have related to him the story of the great struggle between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍus.[2] No direct independent proof of this war is forthcoming, but a dim allusion to the battle of Kuru-kshetra [3] is probably contained in the following gāthā of the Chhāndogya Upanishad (VI. 17.9), referred to by Hopkins : [4]—

Yato yata āvartate tad tad gachchhati mānavaḥ
Kurun aśvābhirakshati.

It may be asserted that the Pāṇḍus are a body of strangers unknown to the Vedic texts, and that, therefore, the story of their feuds with the Kurus must be Post-Vedic. But such a conclusion would be wrong because, firstly, an *argumentum ex silentio* is seldom conclusive, and, secondly, the Pāṇḍus are not a body of strangers but are scions of the Kurus. Hopkins indeed says that they were an unknown folk connected with the wild tribes located north of the Ganges.[5] But Patañjali (IV. 1. 4.) calls Bhīma, Nakula and Sahadeva Kurus.[6] Hindu tradition is unanimous in representing the Pāṇḍavas as an offshoot of the Kuru race just as the Kurus themselves

[1] *Ibid*, p. 95.

[2] Mbh., XVIII, 5, 34.

[3] The battle of Kuru-kshetra is very often described as a fight between the Kurus and the Sṛiñjayas (Mbh., VI, 45, 2; 60, 29; 72, 15; 73, 41; VII, 20, 41; 149, 40; VIII, 47, 23; 57, 12; 59, 1; 93, 1). The unfriendly feeling between these two peoples is distinctly alluded to in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Vedic Index, II, p. 63.)

[4] The Great Epic of India, p. 385.

[5] The Religions of India, p. 388.

[6] Ind. Ant., I, p. 350.

were an offshoot of the Bharatas. The very name of the Great Epic betrays the Bhārata (Kuru) connection of the principal heroes and combatants. The testimony of Buddhist literature points to the same conclusion. In the Dasa-Brāhmaṇa Jātaka [1] a king "of the stock of Yuddhiṭṭhila" reigning "in the kingdom of Kuru and the city called Indapatta" is distinctly called "Koravya," *i.e.*, Kauravya—"belonging to the Kuru race." The polyandrous marriage of the Pāṇḍavas does not necessarily indicate that they are of non-Kuru origin. The system of *Niyoga* prevalent among the Kurus of the Madhyadeśa was not far removed from fraternal polyandry,[2] while the Law (Dharma) of marriage honoured by the Northern Kurus was admittedly lax.[3]

Already in the time of Āśvalāyana's Gṛihya Sūtra (III. 4) Vaiśampāyana was known as Mahābhāratāchārya. He is also mentioned in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (I. 7. 5) and the Ashṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini (IV. 3. 104). Whether Vaiśampāyana was a contemporary of Janamejaya or not, cannot be ascertained at the present moment. But I have found nothing in the Vedic literature itself which goes against the epic tradition.

The early Vedic texts no doubt make no reference to the Mahābhārata, but they mention "Itihāsas" [4] It is well known that the story recited by Vaiśampāyana to Janamejaya was at first called an Itihāsa and was named "Jaya" [5] or victory, *i.e.*, victory of the Pāṇḍus, the ancestors of the king.

1 Jātaka No. 495.

2 See my "Political History," pp. 95, 96. Journal of the Department of Letters (Calcutta University), Vol. IX.
Also Mbh., I, 103, 9-10; 105, 37-38.

3 Mbh., I, 122, 7.

4 A. V., XV, 6, 11-12.

5 *Cf.* C. V. Vaidya, *Mahābhārata: A Criticism*, p. 2; and S. Lévi in *Bhand. Com Vol.*, pp. 99 sqq.

"Muchyate sarva pāpebhyo Rāhuṇā Chandramā yathā
Jayo nāmetihāso'yaṁ śrotavyo vijigīshuṇā." [1]

Janamejaya's brothers, Bhīmasena, Ugrasena and Śrutasena appear in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 3) and the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XVI. 9. 7) as performers of the horse-sacrifice. At the time of the Bṛihad-āraṇyaka Upanishad their life and end excited popular curiosity and were discussed with avidity in philosophical circles. It is clear that the sun of the Pārikshitas had set before the time of the Upanishad, and it is also clear that they had been guilty of some heinous crime which they had atoned for by their horse-sacrifice. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa quotes a gāthā which says :—

"The righteous Pārikshitas, performing horse-sacrifices, by their righteous work did away with sinful work one after another."

The Purāṇas state that Janamejaya was succeeded by **Śatānīka**. Śatānīka's son and successor was Aśvamedha-datta. From Aśvamedha-datta was born **Adhisīma-kṛishṇa** famed in the Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas. Adhisīma-kṛishṇa's son was **Nichakshu**. During king Nichakshu's reign the city of Hāstinapura is said to have been carried away by the Ganges, and the king is said to have transferred his capital to Kauśāmbī.[2]

The Vedic texts do not refer in clear terms to any of these successors of Janamejaya. The Ṛig-Veda no doubt mentions a (Bhārata) king named Aśvamedha (V. 27. 4-6), but there is nothing to show that he is identical with Aśvamedha-datta. A Śatānīka Sātrājita is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa as a great king who defeated Dhṛitarāshṭra, the prince

[1] Mbh., Ādi., 62, 20; *cf.* Udyoga, 136, 18.
[2] Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 5.

of Kāsi, and took away his sacrificial horse. He, too, was probably a Bharata, but the patronymic Sātrājita probably indicates that he was different from Śatānīka, the son of Janamejaya. The Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa and the Chhāndogya Upanishad mention a Kuru king named Abhipratārin Kākshaseni, who was a contemporary of Girikshit Auchchamanyava, Śaunaka Kāpeya, and Dṛiti Aindrota. As Dṛiti Aindrota was the son and pupil of Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka, the priest of Janamejaya,[1] Abhipratārin, son of Kakshasena, appears to have been one of the immediate successors of Janamejaya. We have already seen that Kakshasena appears in the Mahābhārata (I. 94. 54) as the name of a brother of Janamejaya. Abhipratārin was thus Janamejaya's nephew. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra[2] refer to a prince named Vṛiddhadyumna Abhipratāriṇa, apparently the son of Abhipratārin. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[3] mentions his son Rathagṛitsa and priest Śuchivṛiksha Gaupālāyana. The Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra informs us that Vṛiddhadyumna erred in a sacrifice, when a Brāhmaṇa threatened that the result would be the expulsion of the Kurus from Kuru-kshetra, an event which actually came to pass.

The Chhāndogya Upanishad refers to the devastation of the crops in the Kuru country by Maṭachī (hailstones or locusts) and the enforced departure of Ushasti Chākrāyaṇa, a contemporary of Janaka of Videha.[4]

The evidence of the Vedic texts and that of the Purāṇas can be reconciled if we assume that, after the death of Janamejaya, the Kuru kingdom was split up into two parts. One part, which had its capital at Hāstina-

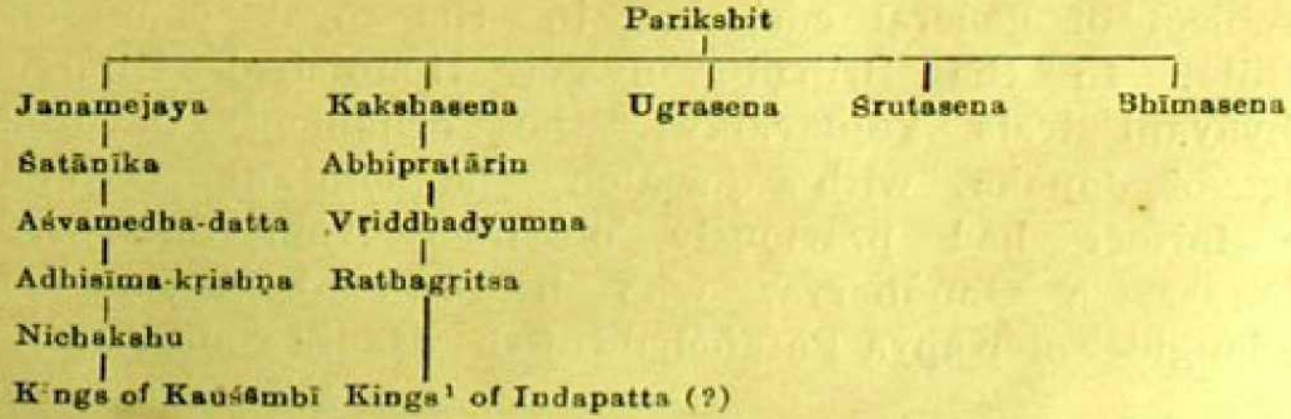
[1] Vaṁśa Brāmaṇa; Vedic Index, Vol. I, pp. 27, 373.
[2] XV, 16, 10-13.
[3] Trivedi's translation, pp. 322-23.
[4] Bṛihad Upanishad, III, 4.

pura, was ruled by the direct descendants of Janamejaya himself. The other part was ruled by the descendants of his brother Kakshasena. The junior branch probably resided at Indraprastha or Indapatta which probably continued to be the seat of a race of kings belonging to the Yuddhiṭṭhila gotta (Yudhishṭhira gotra), long after the destruction of Hāstinapura, and the removal of the main line of Kuru kings to Kauśāmbī.

All our authorities agree that during the rule of Janamejaya's successors great calamities befell the Kurus. Large sections of the people, including one of the reigning princes, were forced to leave the country, and to migrate to the eastern part of India. The transference of the royal seat of the Kuru or Bharata dynasty to Kauśāmbī is proved by the evidence of one of the plays attributed to Bhāsa. Udayana, king of Kauśāmbī, is described in the Svapna-vāsava-datta[1] as a scion of the Bharata or Bhārata family :—

Bhāratānāṁ kule jāto vinīto jñānavāñchhuchiḥ
Tannārhasi balāddhartuṁ rājadharmasya deśikaḥ

Genealogy of the Pārikshita Family



[1] Ed. Ganapati Śāstrī, p. 140.

The Age of the Great Janaka.

Sarve rājño Maithilasya Mainākasyeva parvatāḥ
—Mahābhārata, III. 134. 5.

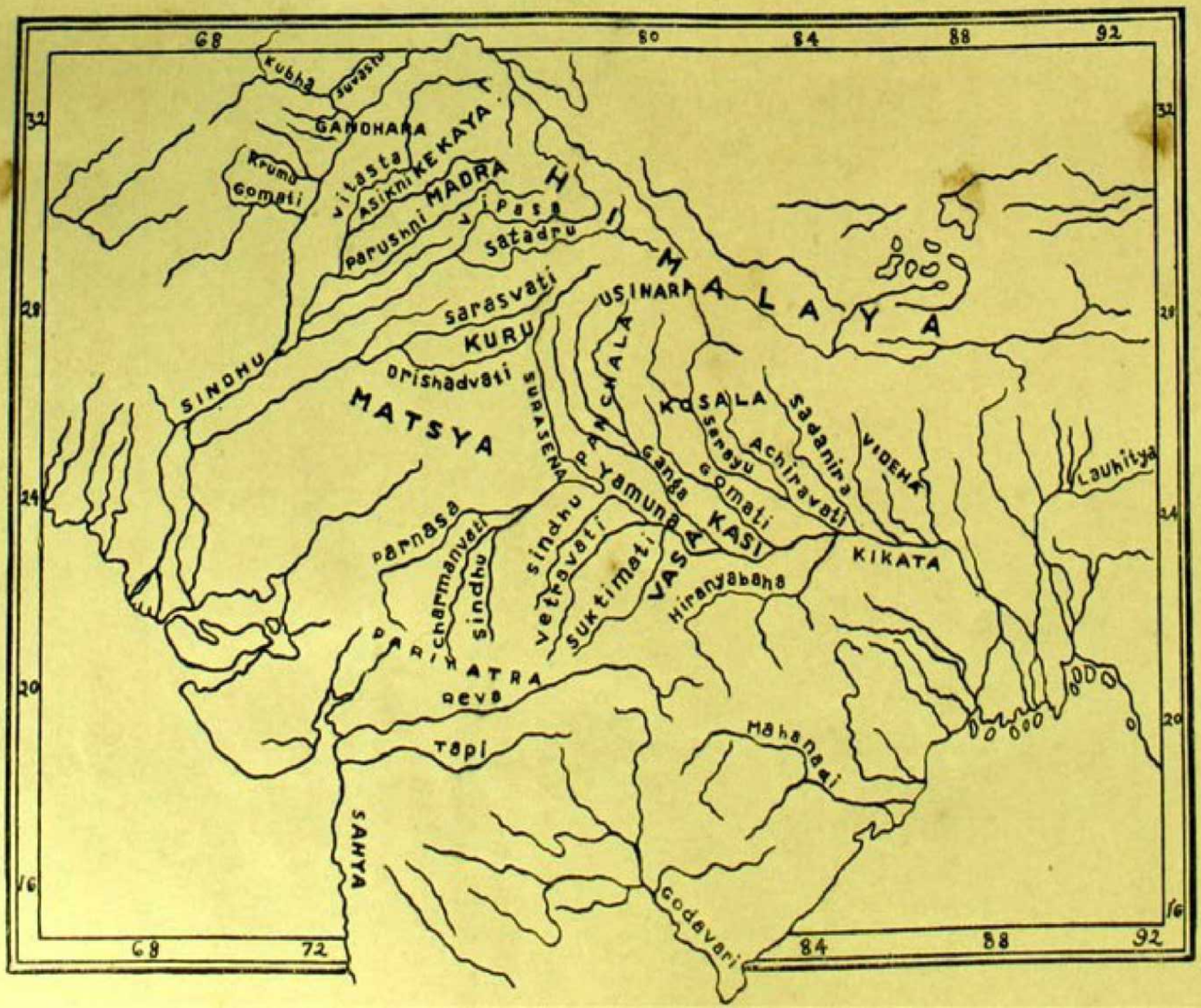
We have seen that a series of calamities sadly crippled the Kurus; and the king of Hāstinapura had to leave the country. During the age which followed the Kurus played a minor part in politics.

The most notable figure of the succeeding age was **Janaka**, the philosopher king of Videha. The waning power of the Kurus and the waxing strength of the Vaidehas are shown by the fact that while Kuru princes are styled rājā in certain Brāhmaṇas,[1] Janaka of Videha is called Samrāṭ. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa [2] the Samrāj is asserted to be of higher dignity than a rājan.

That the great Janaka was later than the Pārikshitas admits of no doubt. We shall show later on that he was a contemporary probably of Nichakshu, and certainly of Ushasti Chākrāyaṇa during whose time disaster befell the Kurus. In Janaka's time we find the majesty and power, as well as the decline and fall, of the Pārikshitas, still fresh in the memory of the people and discussed as a subject of general curiosity in the royal court of Mithilā. In the Bṛihad-āraṇyaka Upanishad Bhujyu Lāhyāyani tests Yājñavalkya, the ornament of the court of Janaka, with a question, the solution of which the former had previously obtained from Sudhanvā Āṅgirasa, a Gandharva, who held in his possession the daughter of Kāpya Patañchala of the Madra country :

[1] Ait., VIII, 14.
[2] V, 1, 1, 13.

INDIA IN THE AGE OF JANAKA



"Kva Pārikshitā abhavan ?" (Bṛihad. Upanishad, III. 3. 1) "whither have the Pārikshitas gone ?" Yājñavalkya answers : "Thither where all Aśvamedha sacrificers go."

From this it is clear that the Pārikshitas (sons of Parikshit) must at that time have passed away. Yet their life and end must have been still fresh in the memory of the people, and a subject of controversy in societies of philosophers.

It is not possible to determine with precision the exact chronological relation between Janamejaya and Janaka. Epic and Purāṇic tradition seems to regard them as contemporaries. Thus the Mahābhārata says that Uddālaka (a prominent figure of Janaka's court) and his son Śvetaketu attended the *sarpa-satra* of Janamejaya :—

Sadasya śchābhavad Vyāsaḥ putra śishya sahāyavān
Uddālakaḥ Pramatakaḥ Śvetaketuścha Piṅgalaḥ[1]

The Vishṇu Purāṇa says that Śatānīka, the son and successor of Janamejaya, learned the Vedas from Yājñavalkya.[2] The unreliability of the Epic and the Purāṇic tradition in this respect is proved by the evidence of the Vedic texts. We learn from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 1) that Indrota Daivāpa or Daivapi Śaunaka was a contemporary of Janamejaya. His pupil was Dṛiti Aindrota or Aindroti according to the Jaiminīya Upanishad and Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇas. Dṛiti's pupil was Pulusha Prāchīnayogya.[3] The latter taught Paulushi Satyayajña. We learn from the Chhāndogya Upanishad (V. 11. 1-2) that Paulushi Satyayajña was a contemporary of Buḍila Āśvatarāśvi and of Uddālaka Āruṇi, two prominent figures of Janaka's court (*vide* Bṛihad-āraṇyaka Upanishad, V. 14. 8, "Janako

[1] Mbh., Adi., 53, 7.
[2] Vishṇu P., IV, 21, 2.
[3] Vedic Index, II, p. 9.

Vaideho Buḍilam Āśvatarāśvim uvācha;" and III. 7. 1). Śatyayajña was, therefore, certainly a contemporary of Janaka of Videha. He was an elder contemporary because his pupil Somaśushma Śātyayajñi Prāchīnayogya is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmana (XI. 6. 2. 1-3) as having met Janaka. As Sātyayajñi certainly flourished long after Indrota Daivāpi Śaunaka, his contemporary Janaka must be considerably later than Janamejaya the contemporary of Indrota.

We should also note that, in the lists of teachers given at the end of the tenth book of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, and the sixth chapter of the Bṛihad-āraṇyaka Upanishad, Tura Kāvasheya, the priest of Janamejaya, appears as a very ancient sage who was tenth in the ascending line from Śāñjīvīputra, whereas Yājñavalkya and Uddālaka Āruṇi, the contemporaries of Janaka, were only fourth and fifth in the ascending line from the same teacher. We quote the lists below :—

Janamejaya Tura Kāvasheya

Yajñavachas Rājastambāyana		
Kuśri		
Śāṇḍilya		
Vātsya		
Vāmakakshāyaṇa	Uddālaka Āruṇi	} Janaka
Māhitthi	Yājñavalkya	} Janaka
Kautsa	Āsuri	
Māṇḍavya	Āsurāyaṇa	
Māṇḍūkāyani	Prāśnīputra	Āsurivāsin
Śāñjīvīputra	Sānjīvīputra	

It is clear from what has been stated above that Janaka was separated by five or six generations from Janamejaya's time. Prof. Rhys Davids in his Buddhist

Suttas [1] adduces good ground for assigning a period of about 150 years to the five Theras from Upâli to Mahinda. If the five Theras are assigned a period of 150 years, the five or six teachers from Indrota to Somaśushma, and from Tura to Vāmakakshāyaṇa, the contemporary of Uddālaka Āruṇi and Janaka, must be assigned 150 or 180 years. It is, therefore, reasonable to think that Janaka flourished about 150 or 180 years after Janamejaya, and two centuries after Parikshit. If, following the Purāṇas, we place Parikshit in the fourteenth century B.C., we must place Janaka in the twelfth century B.C. If, on the other hand, accepting the synchronism of Guṇākhya Śānkhāyana with Āśvalāyana and Gotama Buddha, we place Parikshit in the ninth century B.C., then we must place Janaka in the seventh century B.C.

The kingdom of **Videha**, over which Janaka ruled, corresponds roughly to the modern Tirhut in Bihār. It was separated from Kosala by the river Sadānīrā, usually identified with the modern Gaṇḍak which, rising in Nepāl, flows into the Ganges opposite Patna.[2] Oldenberg, however, points out[3] that the Mahābhārata distinguishes the Gaṇḍakī from the Sadānīrā, "Gaṇḍakīñcha Mahāśoṇam Sadānīrāṁ tathaivacha." Pargiter, therefore, identifies the Sadānīrā with the Raptī. We learn from the Suruchi Jātaka (489) that the measure of the whole kingdom of Videha was three hundred leagues. It consisted of 16,000 villages (J. 406).

Mithilā, the capital of Videha, is not referred to in the Vedic texts, but is constantly mentioned in the Jātakas and the Epics. It has been identified with the small town of Janakpur just within the Nepāl border. It is stated in the Suruchi and Gandhāra (406) Jātakas

[1] Introduction, p. xlvii.
[2] Vedic Index, II, 299.
[3] Buddha, p. 398 n.

that the city covered seven leagues. At its four gates were four market towns (J. 546). We have the following description of Mithilā in the Mahājanaka Jātaka :[1]—

By architects with rule and line laid out in order fair to see,
With walls and gates and battlements, traversed by streets on every side,
With horses, cows and chariots thronged with tanks and gardens beautified,
Videha's far famed capital, gay with its knights and warrior swarms,
Clad in their robes of tiger-skins, with banners spread and flashing arms,
Its Brāhmiṇs dressed in Kāçi cloth, perfumed with sandal, decked with gems,
Its palaces and all their queens with robes of state and diadems. [2]

According to the Rāmāyaṇa (I. 71. 3) the **royal family of Mithilā** was founded by a king named Nimi. His son was Mithi, and Mithi's son was Janaka I. The epic then continues the genealogy to Janaka II (father of Sītā) and his brother Kuśadhvaja, king of Sāṅkāśya. The Vāyu (88. 7-8 ; 89. 3-4) and the Vishṇu (IV.5.1) Purāṇas represent Nimi or Nemi as a son of Ikshvāku, and give him the epithet Videha (Sa śāpena Vasishṭhasya Videhaḥ samapadyata—Vāyu P.) His son was Mithi whom both the Purāṇas identify with Janaka I. The genealogy is then continued to Sīradhvaja who is called the father of Sītā, and is, therefore, identical with Janaka II of the Rāmāyaṇa. Then starting from Sīradhvaja the Purāṇas carry on the dynasty to its close. The last king is named Kṛiti, and the family is called Janaka-vaṁśa.

Dhṛitestu Bahulāśvo bhud Bahulāśva sutaḥ Kṛitiḥ
Tasmin santishṭhate vaṁśo Janakānāṁ mahātmanām [3]

[1] Cowell's Jātaka, Vol. VI, p. 30.
[2] For another description of Mithilā, see Mbh. iii. 206. 6-9.
[3] Vāyu Purāṇa, 89, 93.

The Vedic texts know a king of Videha named Namī Sāpya.[1] But he is nowhere represented as the founder of the dynasty of Mithilā. On the contrary, a story of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa seems to indicate that the Videha kingdom was founded by Videgha Māthava who came from the banks of the Sarasvatī.[2] We are told that Agni Vaiśvānara went burning along this earth from the Sarasvatī towards the east, followed by Māthava and his priest, Gotama Rāhugaṇa, till he came to the river Sadānīrā which flows from the northern (Himālaya) mountain, and which he did not burn over. No Brāhmaṇas went across the stream in former times, thinking "it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaiśvānara." At that time the land to the eastward was very uncultivated, and marshy,[3] but after Māthava's arrival many Brāhmaṇas were there, and it was highly cultivated, for the Brāhmaṇas had caused Agni to taste it through sacrifices. Māthava the Videgha then said to Agni, "where am I to abide?" "To the east of this river be thy abode," he replied. Even now, the writer of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa adds, this forms the boundary between the Kosalas and the Videhas. The name of Mithi Vaideha, the second king in the Epic and the Purāṇic lists, is reminiscent of Māthava Videgha.

If Māthava Videgha was the founder of the royal line of Mithilā, Namī Sāpya must be a later king of Videha. The Majjhima Nikāya (II. 74-83) and the Nimi Jātaka mention Makhādeva as the progenitor of the kings of Mithilā, and Nimi is said to have been born to "round off" the royal house of Mithilā, "the family of hermits."

[1] Vedic Index, I, 436.

[2] Macdonell, Sans. Lit., pp. 214-15; Ved. Ind., II, 298; Śat. Br., 1, 4, 1, etc; Oldenberg's Buddha, pp. 398-99; Pargiter, J.A.S.B., 1897, p. 87 *et seq.*

[3] This is the territory which the Mahābhārata refers to as "Jalodbhava," *i.e.*, reclaimed from swamp (Mbh., II, 30, 4).

The combined evidence of Vedic and Buddhist texts thus shows that the name Nimi was borne not by the first, but probably by some later king or kings.

As the entire dynasty of Maithila kings was called Janaka-vaṁśa (Vaṁśo Janakānāṁ mahātmanām), and there were several kings bearing the name of Janaka, it is very difficult to identify any of these with the great Janaka of the Vedic texts. But there is one fact which seems to favour his identification with Sīradhvaja of the Purāṇic list, *i.e.*, the father of Sītā. The father of Sītā is, in the Rāmāyaṇa, a younger contemporary of Aśvapati, king of the Kekayas (maternal grand-father of Bharata [1]), Janaka of the Vedic texts is also a contemporary of Aśvapati, prince of the Kekayas, as Uddālaka Āruṇi and Buḍila Āśvatarāśvi frequented the courts of both these princes.[2] But as the name Aśvapati is also given to Bharata's maternal uncle,[3] it seems that it was possibly not a personal name but a family designation like 'Janaka.' In that case it is impossible to say how far the identification of the Vedic Janaka with the father of Sītā is correct.

It is equally difficult to identify our Janaka with any of the kings of that name mentioned in the Buddhist Jātakas. Prof. Rhys Davids [4] seems to identify him with Mahā-Janaka of the Jātaka No. 539. The utterance of Mahā-Janaka II of that Jātaka :

> 'Mithilā's palaces may burn
> But naught of mine is burned thereby'

indeed reminds us of the great philosopher-king.

[1] Rāmāyaṇa, II, 9, 22.
[2] Ved. Ind., II, 69 ; Chh. Up., V, 11, 1-4 ; Bṛih. Up., III. 7.
[3] Rāmāyaṇa, VII, 113, 4.
[4] Bud. Ind., p. 26.

In the Mahābhārata (XII. 17. 18-19; 219.50), too, we find the same saying attributed to Janaka of Mithilā.

" Mithilāyāṁ pradīptāyāṁ na me dahyati kiñchana "

" Api cha bhavati Maithilena gītaṁ
Nagaram upāhitam agnin-ābhivīkshya
Na khalu mama hi dahyate'tra kiñchit
Svayam idam āha kila sma bhumipālaḥ."

In the Jaina Uttar-ādhyayana, however, the saying is attributed to Namī.[1] This fact coupled with the mention of Nemi in juxtaposition with Arishṭa in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (IV. 5. 13) probably points to the identification of Namī or Nemi with Mahā-Janaka II who is represented in the Jātaka as the son of Ariṭṭha. If Mahā-Janaka II was identical with Namī, he cannot be identified with Janaka who is clearly distinguished from Namī in the Vedic texts. One may be tempted to identify the Vedic Janaka with Mahā-Janaka I of the Jātaka. But proof is lacking.

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and in the Bṛihad-āraṇyaka Upanishad Janaka is called "Samrāṭ." This shows that he was a greater personage than a "Rājan." Although there is no clear evidence in the Vedic literature of the use of the word "Samrāj" as Emperor in the sense of a king of kings, still the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa distinctly says that the Samrāj was a higher authority than a " Rājan " ; by offering the Rājasūya he becomes king, and by the Vājapeya he becomes Samrāj ; and the office of king is the lower, and that of Samrāj the higher." [2] In the Āśvalāyana Śrauta-Sūtra, X. 3. 14, Janaka is mentioned as a great sacrificer.

[1] S. B. E., XLV, 37.
[2] Śat. Br., V, 1, 1, 13; XII, 8, 3, 4.; XIV, 1,3,8.

But Janaka's fame rests not so much on his achievements as a king and a sacrificer, as on his patronage of culture and philosophy. The court of this monarch was thronged with Brāhmaṇas from Kosala and the Kuru-Pañchāla countries (*e.g.*, Aśvala, Jāratkārava Ārtabhāga, Bhujyu Lāhyāyani, Ushasta Chākrāyaṇa, Kahoḍa Kaushītakeya, Gārgī Vāchaknavī, Uddālaka Āruṇi and Vidagdha Śākalya). The tournaments of argument which were here held form a prominent feature in the third book of the Bṛihad-āraṇyaka Upanishad. The hero of these was Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya, who was a pupil of Uddālaka Āruṇi. (Bṛih. Up. VI., 5. 3). Referring to Janaka's relations with the Kuru-Pañchāla Brāhmaṇas, Oldenberg says :[1] "The king of the east, who has a leaning to the culture of the west, collects the celebrities of the west at his court—much as the intellects of Athens gathered at the court of Macedonian princes."

The Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads throw some light on the political **condition of northern India** during the age of Janaka. From those works we learn that, besides Videha, there were nine states of considerable importance, *viz.* :

1. Gandhāra
2. Kekaya
3. Madra
4. Uśīnara
5. Matsya
6. Kuru
7. Pañchāla
8. Kāsi
9. Kosala

[1] Buddha p 398

Gandhāra formed a part of Uttarāpatha or the northern region of India :—

> Uttarāpatha-janmānaḥ kīrtayishyāmi tān api
> Yauna Kāmboja Gāndhārāḥ Kirātā Barbaraiḥ saha.[1]

It included the Rāwalpindī district of the Pañjāb and the Peshāwar district of the N. W. Frontier Province. Thus it lay on both sides of the Indus.[2] We learn from the Epic and the Purāṇic literature that this *Janapada* contained two great cities, *viz.*, Takshaśilā and Pushkarāvatī.

> Gandhāra vishaye siddhe, tayoh puryau mahātmanoḥ
> Takshasya dikshu vikhyātā ramyā Takshaśilā purî
> Pushkarasyāpi vīrasya vīkhyātā Pushkarāvatī.[3]

If the Telapatta and Susīma Jātakas (Nos. 96, 163) are to be believed, Takshaśilā lay 2,000 leagues away from Benares. The remains of the great city "are situated immediately to the east and north-east of Sarai-kala, a junction on the railway, twenty miles north-west of Rāwalpindī. The valley in which they lie is watered by the Haro river. Within this valley and within three and a half miles of each other are the remains of three distinct cities. The southernmost (and oldest) of these occupies an elevated plateau, known locally as Bhir-mound."[4]

Pushkarāvatī or Pushkalāvatī (Prakrit *Pukkalaoti*, whence the 'Peucelaotis' of Arrian) is represented by the modern Prang and Chārsadda, 17 miles N. E. of Peshāwar, on the Swāt river.[5]

1 Mbh., XII, 207, 43.
2 Rāmāyaṇa, VII, 113, 11; 114, 11; Sindhor-ubhayataḥ pārśve.
3 Vāyu Purāṇa, 88, 189-90; *cf.* Rāmāyaṇa, VII, 114, 11.
4 Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, pp. 1-4.
5 Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, pp. 183-84; Foucher, *Gandhāra*, p. 11.

Gandhāra is a later form of the name of the people called Gandhāri in the Ṛig-Veda and the Atharva-Veda. In the Ṛig-Veda (I. 126-7) the good wool of the sheep of the Gandhāris is referred to. In the Atharva-Veda (V. 22.14) the Gandhāris are mentioned with the Mūjavants, apparently as a despised people. In later times the 'angle of vision' of the men of the Madhyadeśa changed, and Gandhāra became the resort of scholars of all classes who flocked to its capital for instruction in the three Vedas and the eighteen branches of knowledge.

In a significant passage of the Chhāndogya Upanishad (VI. 14) Uddālaka Āruṇi, the contemporary of Janaka, mentions Gandhāra to illustrate the desirability of having a duly qualified teacher from whom a pupil "learns (his way) and thus remains liberated (from all world ties) till he attains (the Truth, Moksha)." A man who attains Moksha is compared to a blind-folded person who reaches at last the country of Gandhāra. We quote the entire passage below :

"Yathā somya purushaṁ Gandhārebbyo' bhinaddhāksham ānīya taṁ tato'tijane visṛijet, sa yathā tatra prāṅ vā udaṅ vādharāṅ vā pratyaṅ vā pradhmāyīta—abhinaddhāksha ānīto' bhinaddhāksho visṛishṭaḥ. Tasya yathābhinahanaṁ pramuchya prabruyād etāṁ diśaṁ Gandhārā etāṁ diśaṁ vrajeti. Sa grāmād grāmaṁ pṛichchhan paṇḍito medhāvī Gandhārān evopasampadyeta, evam evehāchāryavān purusho veda."

"O my child, in the world when a man with blind-folded eyes is carried away from Gandhāra and left in a lonely place, he makes the east and the north and the south and the west resounded by crying 'I have been brought here blind-folded, I am here left blind-folded.' Thereupon (some kind-hearted man) unties the fold on his eyes and says 'This is the way to Gandhāra; proceed thou by this way.' The sensible man proceeds from

village to village, enquiring the way and reaches at last the (province) of Gandhāra. Even thus a man who has a duly qualified teacher learns (his way)." [1]

The full import of the illustration becomes apparent when we remember that the Uddālaka Jātaka (No. 487) represents Uddālaka as having journeyed to Takshaśilā (Takkasilā) and learnt there of a world-renowned teacher. The Setaketu Jātaka (No. 377) says that Setaketu, son of Uddālaka, went to Takshaśilā and learned all the arts. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa mentions the fact that Uddālaka Āruṇi used to drive about (dhāvayām chakāra) amongst the people of the northern country.[2] It is stated in the Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa (VII. 6) that Brāhmaṇas used to go to the north for purposes of study. The Jātaka stories are full of references to the fame of Takshaśilā as a university town. Pāṇini, himself a native of Gandhāra, refers to the city in Sūtra IV. 3. 93. An early celebrity of Takshaśilā was perhaps Kautilya.

The **Kekayas** were settled in the Pañjāb between Gandhāra and the Beas. From the Rāmāyaṇa [3] we learn that the Kekaya territory lay beyond the Vipāśā and abutted on the Gandharva or Gandhāra Vishaya. The Vedic texts do not mention the name of its capital city, but the Rāmāyaṇa informs us that the metropolis was Rājagṛiha or Girivraja, identified by Cunningham with Girjāk or Jalalpur on the Jhelam.

"Ubhau Bharata-Śatrughnau Kekayeshu parantapau
Pure Rājagṛihe ramye mātāmaha-niveśane" [4]

"Girivrajam puravaraṁ śīghram āsedur añjasā" [5]

[1] Dr. R. L. Mitra's translation of the Chhāndogya Upanishad, p. 114.
[2] Śat. Br., XI. 4. 1, 1, *et seq.*
[3] II. 68. 19-22; VII. 113-14.
[4] Rām., II. 67. 7.
[5] Rām., II. 68. 22.

There was another Rājagṛiha-Girivraja in Magadha, while Hiuen Tsang mentions a third Rājagṛiha in Po-ho or Balkh.[1] In order to distinguish between the Kekaya city and the Māgadha capital, the latter city was called "Girivraja of the Magadhas." [2]

The Purāṇas [3] tell us that the Uśīnaras, Kekayas and the Madrakas were septs of the family of Anu, son of Yayāti. The Anu tribe is frequently mentioned in the Ṛig Veda.[4] It appears from a hymn of the eighth Maṇḍala (74) that they dwelt in the central Pañjāb (not far from the Parushṇī), the same territory which we find afterwards in the possession of the Madrakas and the Kekayas.

The king of Kekaya in the time of Janaka was Aśvapati, a name borne also by the maternal grandfather and maternal uncle of Bharata.[5] The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (X. 6. 1. 2) and the Chhāndogya Upanishad (V. 11. 4 *et seq.*) say that king Aśvapati instructed a number of Brāhmaṇas, *e.g.*, Aruṇa Aupaveśi Gautama, Satyayajña Paulushi, Mahāśāla Jābāla, Buḍila Āśvatarāśvi, Indradyumna Bhāllaveya, Jana Śārkarākshya, Prāchīnaśāla Aupamanyava, and Uddālaka Āruṇi.

The Jaina writers tell us that one-half of the kingdom of Kekaya was Aryan, and refer to the Kekaya city called "Seyaviyā." [6] A branch of the Kekayas seems to have migrated to Southern India in later times and established its authority in the Mysore country.[7]

The **Madra** people were divided into two sections, *viz.*, the northern Madras and the southern Madras or Madras proper. The northern Madras, known as Uttara-Madras, are referred to in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, as living beyond

[1] Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. I, p. 44.
[2] S. B. E., XIII, p. 150.
[3] Matsya, 48. 10-20; Vāyu, 99. 12-23.
[4] I. 108 8, VII. 18. 14, VIII. 10. 5.
[5] Rām., II. 9. 22; VII. 113. 4.
[6] Ind. Ant., 1891, p. 375.
[7] *A.H.D.*, 88, 101.

the Himavat Range in the neighbourhood of the Uttara-Kurus, probably, as Zimmer and Macdonell conjecture, in the land of Kaśmīr.

The southern Madras were settled in the central Pañjāb between the Kekayas and the river Irāvatī.[1] Their territory roughly corresponds to Śiālkoṭ and its adjacent districts which were known as the Madra-deśa as late as the time of Guru Govind Singh.[2] The Madra capital was Śākala or Sāgala-nagara (modern Siālkoṭ). This city is mentioned in the Mahābhārata (II. 32. 14 : " Tataḥ Śākalam-abhyetya Madrāṇāṁ puṭabhedanaṁ ") and several Jātakas.[3] The Madras proper are represented in those works as living under a monarchical constitution. The name of the ruler of the *Janapada* in the time of Janaka is not known. It was politically not of much importance. But it was the home of many famous teachers of the Brāhmaṇa period such as Madragāra Śauṅgāyani and Kāpya Patañchala,[4] one of the teachers of the celebrated Uddālaka Āruṇi.[5] The early epic knows the Madra royal house (*cf.* Aśvapati and his daughter Sāvitrī) as a virtuous family. But in later times Madra earned notoriety as the seat of outlandish peoples with wicked customs.[6]

The country of the **Uśīnaras** was situated in the Madhya-deśa. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 14) says " asyāṁ dhruvāyāṁ madhyamāyāṁ pratiṣṭhāyāṁ diśi " lie the realms of the Kuru-Pañchālas together with Vaśas and Uśīnaras.

1 *Cf.* Mbh., VIII. 44. 17.

2 Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 55.

3 *e.g.*, Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka, No. 479 ; and Kusa Jātaka, No. 531.

4 See *supra* p. 30 ; Weber, *Ind. Lit.*, 126.

5 Bṛihad. Up., III. 7. 1.

6 For detailed accounts of the Madras see now H. C. Ray in JASB, 1922, 257 ; and Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, p. 214. Mr. S. N. Mitra points out that the *Paramattha Dipanī* on the *Therīgāthā* (p. 127) (wrongly) places Sāgala-nagara in Magadha-raṭṭha. But the Apadāna quotations on p. 131 leave no room for doubt that Madra is the correct name of the kingdom of which Sāgala (Śākala) was the capital.

In the Kaushītaki Upanishad also the Uśīnaras are associated with the Matsyas, the Kuru-Pañchālas and the Vaśas. They probably lived in the northernmost part of the Madhya-deśa, for in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa the Uśīnaras and Vaśas are mentioned just before the Udīchyas or northerners :[1] Kuru-Pañchāleshu Aṅga-Magadheshu Kāsi-Kausalyeshu Śālva-Matsyeshu sa Vaśa-Uśīnaresh-Ūdīchyeshu.

In the Kathā-sarit-sāgara [2] Uśīnara-giri is placed near Kanakhala the "sanctifying place of pilgrimage, at the point where the Ganges issues from the hills." It is, doubtless, identical with Usira-giri of the Divyāvadāna (p. 22) and Usira-dhvaja of the Vinaya Texts (Part II, p. 39).[3] Pāṇini refers to the Uśīnara country in the sūtras II. 4. 20 and IV. 2. 118. In sūtra II. 4. 20 Uśīnara is mentioned in juxtaposition with Kantha (Kathaioi ?). Its capital was Bhoja-nagara.[4]

The Ṛig Veda (X. 59. 10) mentions a queen named Uśīnarāṇī. The Mahābhārata, the Anukramaṇī and several Jātakas mention a king named Uśīnara and his son Śibi. [5] We do not know the name of Janaka's Uśīnara contemporary. The Kaushītaki Upanishad tells us that Gārgya Bālāki, a contemporary of Ajātaśatru of Kāsi, and of Janaka, lived for some time in the Uśīnara country.

Matsya "originally included parts of Alwar, Jaipur and Bharatpur, and was the kingdom of the king Virāṭa of the Mahābhārata, in whose court the five Pāṇḍava brothers resided *incognito* during the last year of their banishment." [6] But Alwar seems to have been the territory of a neighbouring

1 Gop. Br., II. 9.

2 Edited by Pandit Durgāprasād and Kāsināth Pāndurang Parab, third edition, p. 5.

3 See Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant., 1905*, p. 179.

4 Mbh., V. 118. 2.

5 Mbh., XII. 29. 39; Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 103; Mahā-Kaṇha Jātaka, No. 469; Nimi Jātaka, No. 541; Mahā Nārada Kassapa Jātaka, No. 544, etc.

6 Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 53.

people—the Śālvas.[1] The Matsya capital has been identified with Birāṭ in the Jaipur State. Pargiter thinks that the capital was Upaplavya. But according to Nīlakaṇṭha Upaplavya [2] was "Virāṭanagara-samīpastha-nagarāntaram."

The Matsyas first appear in a passage of the Ṛig Veda (VII. 18. 6), where they are ranged with the other enemies of the great Ṛigvedic conqueror Sudās. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 9) mentions a Matsya king named Dhvasan Dvaitavana who celebrated the horse sacrifice near the Sarasvatī. The Brāhmaṇa quotes the following gāthā :—

"Fourteen steeds did king Dvaitavana, victorious in battle, bind for Indra Vṛitrahan, whence the lake Dvaitavana (took its name)."

The Mahābhārata mentions the lake Dvaitavana as well as a forest called Dvaitavana which spread over the banks of the river Sarasvatī.[3]

In the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (1. 2. 9) the Matsyas appear in connexion with the Śālvas, in the Kaushītaki Upanishad (IV. 1) in connexion with the Kuru-Pañchālas, and in the Mahābhārata in connexion with the Trigarttas[4] of the Jālandar Doāb, and the Chedis.[5] In the Manu-Saṁhitā the Matsyas together with the Kuru-kshetra, the Pañchālas, and the Śūra-senakas comprise the land of the Brāhmaṇa Ṛishis (Brahmarshi-deśa).

The name of Janaka's contemporary ruler is not known. That the country of the Matsyas was important in the time of Ajātaśatru of Kāsi, and of Janaka, is known from the Kaushītaki Upanishad.

The **Kuru** country fully maintained its reputation as the centre of Brāhmaṇical culture in the age of Janaka.

[1] *Cf. Ind. Ant.*, 1919. N. L. Dey's Geographical Dictionary, p. ii.
[2] Mbh., IV. 72. 14. *Cf. Ind. Ant.*, 1882, 327.
[3] Mbh., III. 24-25.
[4] Mbh., bk. IV.
[5] V. 74. 16.

Kuru Brāhmaṇas (*e.g.*, Ushasti Chākrāyaṇa) played a prominent part in the philosophical discussions of Janaka's court. But it was precisely at this time that a great calamity befell the Kurus, and led to an exodus of large sections of the Kuru people including Ushasti himself. The Chhāndogya-Upanishad (1. 10. 1) says, "Maṭachī-hateshu Kurushu āṭikyā saha jāyayā Ushastir ha Chākrāyaṇa ibhya-grāme pradrāṇaka uvāsa." One commentator took Maṭachī to mean "rakta-varṇāḥ kshudra-pakshi-viśeshāḥ." Professor Bhandarkar says that the explanation of this commentator is confirmed by the fact that Maṭachī is a Sanskritised form of the well-known Canarese word "midiche" which is explained by Kittel's Dictionary as "a grasshopper, a locust."

If the Purāṇic list of Janamejaya's successors be accepted as historical, then it would appear that Nichakshu was probably the Kuru king in the time of Janaka.

1.	Janamejaya	...	1. Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka
2.	Śatānīka	...	2. Dṛiti Aindrota (son and pupil)
3.	Aśva-medha-datta	...	3. Pulusha Prāchīnayogya (pupil)
4.	Adhisīma-kṛishṇa	...	4. Pulushi Satyayajña (pupil)
5.	Nichakshu	...	5. Somaśushma Sātyayajñi (pupil); Janaka's contemporary.

Curiously enough, it is Nichakshu who is represented in the Purāṇas as the remover of the seat of government from Hāstinapura to Kauśāmbī. We have some indication that the city of Kauśāmbī really existed about this time.[1] The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa makes Proti Kauśāmbeya a contemporary of Uddālaka Āruṇi who figured in the court of Janaka. It is thus clear that Kauśāmbeya was a contemporary of Janaka. Now, Harisvāmin in his commentary on the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa

[1] *Cf.* Weber, *Ind. Lit.*, p. 123.

understood Kauśāmbeya to mean a 'native of the town of Kauśāmbī.' It is, therefore, permissible to think that Kauśāmbī existed in the time of Janaka, and hence of Nichakshu. There is thus no difficulty in the way of accepting the Purāṇic statement. According to the Purāṇas the change of capital was due to the inroad of the river Ganges. Another, and a more potent, cause was perhaps the devastation of the Kuru country by Maṭachī. From this time the Kurus appear to have lost their political importance. They sank to the level of a second-rate power. But the Bharata dynasty, as distinguished from the Kuru people, exercised wide sway down to the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 11).

Pañchāla roughly corresponds to Bareilly, Budaun, Furrukhabad and the adjoining districts of the United Provinces. There is no trace in the Vedic literature of the Epic and Jātaka division of the Pañchālas into northern (Uttara) and southern (Dakshiṇa). But the Vedic texts knew a division into eastern and western, because the Saṁhit-opanishad Brāhmaṇa makes mention of the Prāchya Pañchālas.[1] The most ancient capital of Pañchāla was Kāmpilya which has been identified with Kāmpil on the old Ganges between Budaun and Furrukhabad. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 7) mentions another Pañchāla town Parivakrā or Parichakrā, identified by Weber with Ekachakrā of the Mahābhārata.[2]

The Pañchālas, as their name indicates, probably consisted of five tribes—the Krivis, Turvaśas, Keśins, Sṛiñjayas and Somakas. The Krivis appear in a Ṛigvedic hymn which also mentions the Sindhu (Indus) and the Asiknī (Chenāb). But their actual habitation is nowhere clearly indicated. They are identified with the Pañchālas

[1] Ved. Ind., I. 469.
Cf. also Patañjali (Kielhorn's ed., Vol. I, p. 12).
[2] Ved. Ind., I. 494.

in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Oldenberg observes :[1] "We are to look to find in the people of the Pañchālas, of the stock of the Ṛik Saṃhitā, the Turvaças also as well as the Krivis." He supports the conjecture by quoting a passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 16) which says, "when Śātrāsāha (king of the Pañchālas) makes the Aśvamedha offering, the Taurvaças arise, six thousand and six and thirty clad in mail."

The fusion of the Turvaśas with the Pañchālas does not seem to be improbable in view of the Purāṇic statement that, after Marutta, the line of Turvaśu was merged into the Paurava line,[2] of which the Pañchālas are represented as an off-shoot.

The Pañchālas also included the Kesins[3] and probably the Sṛiñjayas.[4] In Mbh., VIII. 11. 31 Uttamaujas is called a Pañchāla, while in VIII. 75.9 he is called a Sṛiñjaya. As to the Somakas their connection with the Pañchālas is known throughout the great Epic (*cf.* Mbh., I. 185. 31 ; 193, 1 : Dhṛishṭa-dyumnaḥ Somakānāṁ pravarho).

In the Mahābhārata the royal family of the Pañchālas is represented as an off-shoot of the Bharata dynasty.[5] The Purāṇas say the same thing[6] and name Divodāsa, Sudāsa and Drupada among the kings of the Pañchāla branch. Divodāsa and Sudās are famous kings in the Ṛig Veda where they are closely connected with the Bharatas.[7] But they are not mentioned as Pañchāla kings. In the Mahābhārata Drupada is also called Yajñasena and one

1 *Buddha*, p. 404.
2 *A.I.H.T.*, p. 108.
3 Ved. Ind., I. 187.
4 Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 353 ; Mbh., I. 138. 37 ; V. 48.41.
5 Ādi., 94.33.
6 Matsya, 50.1-16 ; Vāyu, 99. 194-210.
7 Ved. Ind., I, p. 363 ; II, pp. 95, 454.

of his sons was named Śikhaṇḍin.[1] A Śikhaṇḍin Yājñasena is mentioned in the Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa (VII. 4), but it is not clear whether we are to regard him as a prince, or as a priest of Keśin Dālbhya, king of the Pañchālas.

The external history of the Pañchālas is mainly that of wars and alliances with the Kurus. The Mahābhārata preserves traditions of conflict between the Kurus and the Pañchālas. We learn from chapter 166 of the Ādiparva that Uttara Pañchāla was wrested from the Pañchālas by the Kurus and given away to their preceptor. Curiously enough, the Somanassa Jātaka (No. 505) places Uttara Pañchāla-nagara in Kuru-raṭṭha.

The relations between the two peoples (Kurus and Pañchālas) were sometimes friendly and they were connected by matrimonial alliances. Keśin Dālbhya or Dārbhya, a king of the Pañchālas, was sister's son to Uchchaiḥ-śravas, king of the Kurus.[2] Uchchaiḥ-śravas occurs as the name of a Kuru prince in the dynastic list of the Mahābhārata (I. 94.53). In the epic a Pañchāla princess is married to the Pāṇḍavas who are represented as scions of the Kuru royal family.

Among the most famous kings of the Pañchālas mentioned in the Vedic literature are Kraivya, Keśin Dālbhya, Śona Sātrāsāha, Pravāhaṇa Jaivali and Durmukha. Durmukha is also mentioned in the Kumbhakāra Jātaka (No. 408). His kingdom is called Uttara Pañchāla-raṭṭha and his capital Kampilla-nagara. He is represented as a contemporary of Nimi, king of Videha. If this Nimi be the penultimate king of Janaka's family mentioned in the Nimi Jātaka (No. 541), Durmukha must be later than Janaka.

Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, on the other hand, was Janaka's contemporary. This prince appears in the Upanishads as

[1] Mbh., Ādi., 166.24 ; Bhīsma, 190, *et seq.*

[2] Ved. Ind., I. 84, 187, 468.

engaged in philosophical discussions with Āruṇi, Śvetaketu, Śilaka Śālāvatya, and Chaikitāyana Dālbhya.[1] The first two teachers are known to have been contemporaries of Janaka.

The kingdom of **Kāśi** was 300 leagues in extent (a stock phrase, Dhajavihetha Jātaka, No. 391). It had its capital at Bārāṇasi also called Ketumatī, Surundhana, Sudassana, Brahma-vaddhana, Pupphavati, Ramma city, and Molini.[2] The walls of Bārāṇasi were twelve leagues round by themselves (Taṇḍulanāli Jātaka, No. 5).

The Kāśis, *i.e.*, the people of Kāśi, first appear in the Paippalāda recension of the Atharva Veda.[3] They were closely connected with the people of Kosala and of Videha. Jala Jātūkarṇya is mentioned in the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XVI. 29. 5) as having obtained the position of Purohita of the three peoples of Kāsi, Videha and Kosala in the life-time of Śvetaketu, a contemporary of Janaka. Curiously enough a king named Janaka is mentioned in the Sattubhasta Jātaka (No. 402) as reigning in Benares. This Janaka cannot be the Janaka of the Upanishads, for we learn from those works that, in the time of the famous Janaka, Ajātaśatru was on the throne of Kāśi.

Very little is known regarding the ancestors of Ajātaśatru. His name does not occur in the Purāṇic lists of Kāśi sovereigns,[4] nor does the name of Dhṛitarāshṭra, king of Kāśi, who was defeated by Śatānīka Sātrājita with the result that the Kāśis down to the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa gave up the kindling of the sacred fire. The Purāṇas represent the Kāśi family as a branch of the house of Purūravas, the great ancestor of the Bharatas. Of the

[1] Bṛihad. Up., VI. 2; Chh. Up., 1. 8. 1 ; V. 3. 1.

[2] Dialogues, Part iii, p. 73. Carmichael Lectures, 1918, pp. 50-51.

[3] Ved. Ind., II. 116 n.

[4] Vāyu, 92. 21-74 : Viṣṇu, IV. 8. 2-9.

kings mentioned in the Purāṇas the names of two only (Divodāsa and Pratardana) can be traced in the Vedic literature. But the Vedic texts do not connect them with Kāśi.

In the Mahāgovinda Suttanta Dhataraṭṭha, king of Kāsi, who must be identified with Dhṛitarāshṭra, king of Kāśi mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, is represented as a Bharata prince.[1]

The Bharata dynasty of Kāśi seems to have been supplanted by a new line of kings who had the family name Brahmadatta, and were probably of Videhan origin. That Brahmadatta was the name of a family, and not of any particular king, has been proved by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar and Mr. Hāritkṛishṇa Dev.[2] The Matsya Purāṇa refers to a dynasty consisting of one hundred (*i.e. many*) Brahmadattas :

Śataṁ vai Brahmadattānām
Vīrāṇāṁ Kuravaḥ śatam[3]

The "hundred" Brahmadattas are also mentioned in the Mahābhārata, II. 8. 23.

In the Dummedha Jātaka (50)[4] the name Brahmadatta is applied both to the reigning king and to his son (*Kumāra*).[5] In the Gaṅgamāla Jātaka (421) it is distinctly stated that Brahmadatta was a family designation. King Udaya of Benares was addressed by a Pachcheka Buddha as "Brahmadatta."

That the Brahmadattas were of Videhan origin appears probable from several Jātakas. For instance, the Māti-

1 Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, p. 270.
2 Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 56.
3 Matsya, p. 273. 71.
4 Vol. I, p. 126.
5 *Cf.* also the Susīma Jātaka (411), the Kumma Sapiṇḍa Jātaka (415), the Aṭṭhāna Jātaka (425), the Lomasa Kassapa Jātaka (433), etc.

posaka Jātaka (No. 455), which refers to King Brahmadatta of Kāsi, has the following line.

mutto'mhi Kāsirājena Vedehena yasassinā ti.

In the Sambula Jātaka (No. 519) prince Sotthisena, son of Brahmadatta, king of Kāśi, is called Vedehaputta :

Yo putto Kāsirājassa Sotthiseno ti tam vidū
tassāham Sambulā bhariyā, evaṁ jānāhi dānava,
Vedehaputto bhaddan te vane basati āturo.

Ajātaśatru, the Kāśya contemporary of Janaka, seems to have belonged to the Brahmadatta family. The Upanishadic evidence shows that he was a contemporary of Uddālaka. The Uddālaka Jātaka tells us that the reigning king of Benares in the time of Uddālaka was Brahmadatta. Ajātaśatru appears in the Upanishads as engaged in philosophical discussions with Gārgya Bālāki. In the Kaushītaki Upanishad he is represented as being jealous of Janaka's fame as a patron of learning.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (V. 5. 5. 14) mentions a person named Bhadrasena Ājātaśatrava who is said to have been bewitched by Uddālaka Āruṇi. Macdonell and Keith call him a king of Kāśi. He was apparently the son and successor of Ajātaśatru.[1]

The kingdom of **Kosala** corresponds roughly to the modern Oudh. It was separated from Videha by the river Sadānīrā, which was for a long time the easternmost limit of the Aryan world. Beyond it was an extensive marshy region, not frequented by Brāhmaṇas which, after Māthava Videgha's occupation, developed into the flourishing kingdom of Videha.

The Vedic texts do not mention any city in Kosala. But if the Rāmāyaṇa is to be believed the capital of Kosala in the time of the Janakas was Ayodhyā which stood on the

[1] S.B.E., XLI, p. 141.

banks of the Sarayū and covered twelve yojanas.[1] The river Sarayū is mentioned in the Ṛig Veda which also refers to an Aryan settlement on its banks (IV. 30. 18). One of the Ārya settlers bears the name of Chitraratha which occurs also in the Rāmāyaṇa (II. 32. 17) as the appellation of a contemporary of Daśaratha. A king named Daśaratha is eulogised in a Ṛigvedic hymn (I. 126. 4), but there is nothing to identify him with the Ikshvāku king Daśaratha who is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as the Kosalan contemporary of Sīradhvaja Janaka. Daśaratha's son according to the Rāmāyaṇa was Rāma. The Ṛig Veda (X. 93. 14) mentions a powerful person named Rāma but does not connect him with Kosala. The Dasaratha Jātaka makes Dasaratha and Rāma kings of Bārāṇasī, and disavows Sītā's connection with Janaka.

Kosala was probably the fatherland of Janaka's Hotṛi priest Aśvala who was very probably an ancestor of Āśvalāyana Kausalya mentioned in the Praśna Upanishad as a disciple of Pippalāda and a contemporary of Sukeśā Bhāradvāja and of Hiraṇya-nābha, a Kosalan prince.

The details of Kosalan history will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

[1] Rām., I. 55-7.

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE I.

Śaṁtanu (Ṛig. V.; and Mbh.)
Vichitra (Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā).
Vīrya
Pāṇḍu
Arjuna
Abhimanyu
Parikshit (Atharva Veda).

Janamejaya
Śatānīka
Aśvamedha-datta
Adhisīma-kṛishṇa

Kakshasena
Abhipratārin
Vṛiddha-dyumna
Rathagṛitsa

Indrota
Dṛiti Aindrota
Puluṣha (pupil)
Paulushi ,,
Somasushma ,,

Śaunaka (*guru*)
Āśvalāyana; Kavandhi-Kātyāyana; Pauskarasādi
(=Assalāyana, contemp. of Buddha?) (=Pokkharasādi?)

Kuśika
Viśvāmitra (Ṛig. V.)
Devarāta
Śākamaśva (pupil)
Vyaśva ,,
Viśvamanas ,,
Uddālaka ,,
Sumnayu ,,
Bṛihaddiva ,,
Prativeśya ,,
Sauma ,,
Somapa ,,
Priyavrata ,,
Uddālaka ,, Āruṇi
Kahola ,,
Śāṅkhāyana ,,
(Śāṅkh. Ār.)

Janaka of the Upanishads
Yājñavalkya
Āsuri (pupil)
Āsurāyaṇa ,,
Prāśniputra ,,
Sāñjīvīputra ,,
(Bṛihad. up.)

Vasishṭha (Ṛig. V.)
Śakti
Parāśara
Vyāsa

Nārada
Vishvaksena (pupil).
Vyāsa Pārāśarya ,,
(Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa)

Tura Kāvasheya
Yajñavachas (pupil).
Kuśri ,,
Śāṇḍilya ,,
Vātsya ,,
Vāmakakshāyaṇa ,,
Māhitthi ,,
Kautsa ,,
Māṇḍavya ,,
Māṇḍūkāyani ,,
Sāñjīvīputra ,,

Ayāsya (Ṛig. V.)
Pathin (pupil).
Vatsanapāt ,,
Vidarbhi ,,
Kauṇḍinya
Gālava
Kumāra ,,
Hārita
Kaisorya ,,
Śāṇḍilya ,,
Vātsya ,,
(Bṛihad. Up.)

The Later Vaidehas of Mithilā.

The Purāṇas give the following lists of the successors of Sīradhvaja Janaka :—

Vāyu (89. 18-23)

Sīradhvajāttu jātastu
Bhānumān nāma Maithilaḥ
Tasya Bhānumataḥ putraḥ
Pradyumnaścha pratāpavān
Munistasya suta śchāpi
Tasmād Ūrjavahaḥ smṛitaḥ
Urjavahāt suta Dvājaḥ
Śakuni stasya chātmajaḥ
Svāgataḥ Śakuneḥ putraḥ
Suvarchā stat sutaḥ smṛitaḥ
Śrutoyastasya dāyādaḥ
Suśruta stasya chātmajaḥ
Suśrutasya Jayaḥ putro
Jayasya Vijayaḥ sutaḥ
Vijayasya Ṛitaḥ putra
Ṛitasya Sunayaḥ smṛitaḥ

Vishṇu (IV. 5. 12-13)

Sīradhvajasy āpatyaṁ Bhānumān, Bhānumataḥ Śatadyumnaḥ, tasya Śuchiḥ, tasmād Ūrjavahonāma putro jajñe—tasyāpi Satvaradhvajaḥ, tataḥ Kuniḥ, Kuner Añjanaḥ, tatputraḥ Ṛitujit, tato' rishṭa-Nemiḥ, tasmāt Śrutāyuḥ, tataḥ Sūryāśvaḥ, tasmād Sañjayaḥ, tataḥ Kshemāriḥ, tasmād Anenāḥ, tasmān Mīnarathaḥ, tasya Satyarathaḥ, tasya Sātyarathiḥ, Sātyarather Upaguḥ, tasmāt Upaguptaḥ, tasmāt Śāśvataḥ, tasmāt Sudhanvā (Suvarchāḥ), tasyāpi Subhāsah, tataḥ Suśrutaḥ, tasmāj-Jayaḥ, Jayaputro Vijayaḥ, tasya Ṛitaḥ, Ṛitāt Sunayaḥ, tato Vītahavyaḥ, tasmād Sañjayaḥ,

Sunayād Vītahavyastu
Vītahavyātmajo Dhṛitiḥ
Dhṛitestu Bahulāśvo'bhūd
Bahulāśvasutaḥ Kṛitiḥ

tasmād Kshemāśvah, tasmāt Dhṛitiḥ, Dhṛiter Bahulāśvaḥ, tasya putraḥ Kṛitiḥ,

Tasmin santishṭhate vaṁśo
Janakānāṁ mahātmanāṁ

Kṛitau santishṭhate 'yaṁ

Janakavaṁśaḥ.

It will be seen that the two Purāṇic lists do not wholly agree with each other. The Vāyu Purāṇa omits many names including those of Arishṭa Nemi and his immediate successors. The Vishṇu Purāṇa, or the scribe who wrote the dynastic list contained in it, may have confounded the names Arishṭa and Nemi and made one out of two kings.[1] Arishṭa is very probably identical with Ariṭṭha Janaka of the Mahā-Janaka Jātaka. Nemi is very probably the same as Namī of the Uttar-ādhyayana Sūtra to whom is ascribed the same saying ("when Mithilā is on fire nothing is burned that belongs to me") which is attributed to Mahā-Janaka II, son of Ariṭṭha, in the Mahā-Janaka Jātaka.

With the exception of Arishṭa (and?) Nemi none of the kings in the Purāṇic lists can be satisfactorily identified with the Videhan monarchs mentioned in the Vedic, Buddhist and Jaina literature. It is, therefore, difficult to say how far the Purāṇic lists are reliable. Moreover, as the identification of Sīradhvaja with the Vedic Janaka is by no means certain, it is not easy to determine which of the kings mentioned in the Purāṇic lists actually came after the contemporary of Āruṇi and Yājñavalkya. The evidence of the Jātakas, however, suggests that a king named Nimi, at any rate, ruled after the great Janaka, as he is called the penultimate sovereign of the dynasty. Pargiter[2] places all the kings of the Purāṇic

[1] *Cf.* Dialogues, Part III, p. 193.
[2] AIHT, p. 149.

lists from Bhānumant to Bahulāśva before the Bhārata war, and apparently identifies Kṛiti with Kṛitakshaṇa of the Mahābhārata (II. 4. 27), a contemporary of Yudhishṭhira. But as there were "Janakas" even after Yudhishṭhira, and as "two Purāṇas conclude with the remark that with Kṛiti ends the race of the Janakas,"[1] the identification of Kṛiti, the last of the race, with Kṛitakshaṇa does not seem to be plausible. It is more reasonable to identify Kṛiti of the Purāṇas with Karāla Janaka who, as we shall see below, brought the line of Vaideha kings to an end. The only objection to this view is that Karāla is represented as the son of Nimi, whereas Kṛiti was the son of Bahulāśva who came long after Arishṭa-Nemi. But the title Nimi may have been borne by several kings besides Arishṭa (or his son,) and Bahulāśva may have been one of them.

The Vedic texts mention besides Māthava and Janaka two other Vaideha kings, namely, Para Āhlāra and Namī Sāpya. Macdonell and Keith identify Para Āhlāra with Para Āṭṇāra, king of Kosala, about whom we shall speak in a subsequent chapter. Namī Sāpya is mentioned in the Pañchaviṁśa or Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa (XXV. 10. 17-18) as a famous sacrificer. His identification with king Namī of the Uttar-ādhyayana Sūtra, Nemi of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, and Nimi of the Makhādeva Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya, the Kumbha-kāra Jātaka and the Nimi Jātaka, is more or less problematical. In the last-mentioned work it is stated that Nimi was the penultimate sovereign of the Maithila family. According to the Kumbha-kāra Jātaka and the Uttar-ādhyayaṇa Sūtra[2] he was a contemporary of Dummukha (Dvimukha) king of Pañchāla, Naggaji (Naggati) of Gandhāra and of Karaṇḍu (Karakaṇḍu) of Kaliṅga. This synchronism accords with Vedic evidence.

[1] AIHT, pp. 96, 330.
[2] S.B.E., XLV. 87.

Durmukha the Pañchāla king had a priest named Bṛihaduktha [1] who was the son of Vāmadeva.[2] Vāmadeva was a contemporary of Somaka, the son of Sahadeva.[3] Somaka had close spiritual relationship with Bhīma, king of Vidarbha, and Nagnajit, king of Gandhāra.[4] From this it seems very probable that Durmukha was a contemporary of Nagnajit. This is exactly what we find in the Kumbha-kāra Jātaka and the Uttar-ādhyayana Sūtra.

The Nimi Jātaka says that Nimi was "born to round off" the royal family "like the hoop of a chariot wheel." Addressing his predecessor the soothsayers said, "great king, this prince is born to round off your family. This your family of hermits will go no further."

Nimi's son Kalāra Janaka[5] is said to have actually brought his line to an end. This king is apparently identical with Karāla Janaka of the Mahābhārata (XII. 302. 7). In the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya it is stated that "Bhoja, known also by the name Dāṇḍakya, making a lascivious attempt on a Brāhmaṇa maiden, perished along with his kingdom and relations; so also Karāla, the Vaideha."[6] Karāla, the Vaideha, who perished along with his kingdom and relations, must be identified with Kalāra (Karāla) who, according to the Nimi Jātaka, brought the line of Vaideha kings to an end. The down-fall of the Vaidehas reminds us of the fate of the Tarquins who were expelled from Rome for a similar crime. As in Rome, so in Videha, the overthrow of the monarchy was followed by the rise of a republic—the Vajjian Confederacy.

[1] Vedic Index, I. 370.

[2] *Ibid*, II. 71.

[3] Ṛig-Veda, IV. 15. 7. 10.

[4] Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII. 34.

[5] Makhādeva Sutta of the Majjhima nikāya, II. 82; Nimi Jātaka.

[6] The evidence of the Arthaśāstra is confirmed by that of the Buddha-charita of Aśva-ghosha (IV. 80). "And so Karāla Janaka, when he carried off the Brāhmaṇa's daughter, incurred loss of caste thereby, but he would not give up his love."

There is reason to believe that the Kāśi people had a share in the overthrow of the Vaideha monarchy. Already in the time of the great Janaka, Ajātaśatru king of Kāśi could hardly conceal his jealousy of the Videhan king's fame. The passage "Yathā Kāśyo vā Videhav-Ograputra ujjyam dhanur adhijyam kṛitvā dvau vāṇa vantau sapatnātivyādhinau haste kṛitv-opatishṭhed"[1] probably refers to frequent struggles between the kings of Kāśi and Videha. The Mahābhārata (XII. 99. 1-2) refers to the old story (itihāsam purātanam) of a great battle between Pratardana (king of Kāśi, according to the Rāmāyaṇa, VII. 48. 15) and Janaka king of Mithilā. It is stated in the Pāli commentary Param-attha-jotikā[2] that the Lichchhavis, who succeeded Janaka's dynasty as the strongest political power in Videha, and formed the most important element of the Vajjian Confederacy, were the offsprings of a queer of Kāśi. This probably indicates that a junior branch of the royal family of Kāśi established itself in Videha.

[1] Bṛihad. Upanishad, III. 8, 2.
[2] Vol. I, pp. 158-165.

The Deccan in the Age of the Later Vaidehas.

The expression "Dakshiṇāpadā" occurs in the Ṛig Veda (X. 61. 8) and refers to the place where the exile goes on being expelled. In the opinion of several scholars this simply means "the South" beyond the limits of the recognised Aryan world. Dākshiṇātya is found in Pāṇini, (IV. 2. 98). Dakshiṇāpatha is mentioned by Baudhāyana coupled with Surāshṭra (Bau. Sūtra, I. 1. 29). It is however extremely difficult to say what Pāṇini or Baudhāyana exactly meant by Dākshiṇātya or Dakshiṇāpatha.

Whatever may have been the correct meaning of those terms it is certain that already in the age of the later Vaidehas the Aryans had crossed the Vindhyas and even established several states in the Deccan. One of these states was **Vidarbha** or Berar (Varadātaṭa of the Āīṅ). Vidarbha was certainly a famous kingdom in the time of Nimi mentioned in the Jātakas. We have already seen that the Kumbha-kāra Jātaka and the Uttar-ādhyayana make him a contemporary of Naggaji, Naggati or Nagnajit king of Gandhāra. We learn from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 34) that Nagnajit was a contemporary of Bhīma king of Vidarbha.

"Etamu haiva prochatuḥ Parvata Nāradau Somakāya Sāhadevyāya Sahadevāya Sārñjayāya Babhrave Daivāvṛidhāya Bhīmāya Vaidarbhāya Nagnajite Gāndhārāya."

Vidarbha, therefore, existed as an independent kingdom in the time of Nimi. The kingdom is mentioned in the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa.[1] It was famous for its Māchalas (perhaps a species of dog) which killed tigers[2]—"Vidarbheṣu

[1] II, 440; Ved. Ind., II. 297.
[2] JAOS, 19, 100.

mācalās Sārameyā apiha Çārdulân mārayanti." The Praśna Upanishad mentions a sage of Vidarbha named Bhārgava as a contemporary of Āśvalāyana. Another sage called Vidarbhī Kauṇḍinya is mentioned in the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad. The name Kauṇḍinya is apparently derived from the city of Kuṇḍina, the capital of Vidarbha,[1] represented by the modern Kauṇḍinya-pura on the banks of Wardhā in the Chāṇḍur tāluk of Amraoti.[2]

From the Purāṇic account of the Yadu family it appears that Vidarbha, the eponymous hero of the Vidarbhas, was of Yadu lineage.[3]

If the evidence of the Kumbha-kāra Jātaka has any value, then Nimi king of Videha, mentioned in the work, Nagnajit king of Gandhāra and Bhīma king of Vidarbha must be considered to be contemporaries of Karaṇḍu of Kaliṅga. It follows from this that the kingdom of **Kaliṅga** was in existence in the time of Nimi and his contemporaries of the Brāhmaṇa period. The evidence of the Jātaka is confirmed by that of the Uttar-ādhyayana Sūtra. The Mahāgovinda Suttanta [4] makes Sattabhu king of Kaliṅga a contemporary of Reṇu king of Mithilā and of Dhataraṭṭha or Dhṛitarāshṭra king of Kāśi mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIII. 5. 4. 22. There can thus be no doubt that Kaliṅga existed as an independent kingdom in the time of which the Brāhmaṇas speak. It is mentioned both by Pāṇini (IV. 1. 170) and Baudhāyana (I, i. 30-31). The latter regards it as an impure country but evidently not unfrequented by Aryans.[5] It comprised the whole coast from

1 Mbh., III. 73. 1-2, Harivaṁśa, Vishṇuparva, 59-60.

2 Gaz. Amraoti, Vol. A, p 406.

3 Matsya Purāṇa, 44. 36; Vāyu Purāṇa, 95. 35-36.

4 Dialogues of the Buddha, II. 270.

5 There was a considerable Brāhmaṇa population in Kaliṅga in the days of Aśoka (*cf.* Edict XIII).

the river Vaitaraṇī[1] in Orissa to the borders of the Andhra territory at the mouth of the Godāvarī. We learn from the Jātakas that the capital of Kaliṅga was Dantapura-nagara[2] (Dantakura, Mbh., V. 48. 76). The Mahābhārata mentions another capital called Rājapura (XII. 4. 3). The Mahāvastu[3] refers to another city named Siṁhapura. The Jaina writers mention a fourth city called Kaṁchaṇapura.[4]

The Mahāgovinda Suttanta refers to another southern realm, namely, **Assaka**, on the Godhāvarī,[5] which existed in the time of Reṇu and Dhata-raṭṭha (Dhṛita-rāshṭra). It was ruled by king Brahmadatta who had his capital at Potana.

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa alludes (VIII. 14) to princes of the south who are called **Bhojas** and whose subjects are called the Satvats, "dakshiṇasyāṁ diśi ye ke cha Satvatāṁ rājāno Bhaujyāyaiva te' bhishichyante Bhoj-etye-nān-abhishiktān-āchakshata." In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 21) the defeat by Bharata of the Satvats, and his taking away the horse which they had prepared for an Aśvamedha are referred to. These Satvats must have been living near Bharata's realm, *i.e.*, near the Ganges and the Yamunā.[6] But in the time of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa they probably moved farther to the south. Their kings were called Bhojas. This account of the Satvats and the Bhojas, deduced from the Brāhmaṇical statements, accords strikingly with Purāṇic evidence. It is stated in the

[1] Mbh., III. 114. 4.

[2] *Cf.* Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 361, Danta-pura-vāsakāt. The name of the city probably survives in that of the fort of Dantavaktra near Chicacole in the Gañjām District. Many other Kaliṅga capitals stood in the same district, *e.g.*, Siṁhapura (Singupuram near Chicacole, Dubreuil A.H.D., p. 94), Kaliṅga-nagara (Mukhaliṅgam on the Vaṁśadharā, Ep. Ind., IV. 187 ; Kaliṅgapātam is preferred in Ind. Ant., 1887, 132 ; JBORS, 1920, p. 623 f. But the arguments adduced are not all plausible.

[3] Senart's edition, p. 432.

[4] Ind. Ant., 1891, p. 375.

[5] Sutta Nipāta, 977.

[6] *Cf.* Śat. Br., XIII. 5. 4. 11.

Purāṇas that the Sātvatas and the Bhojas were offshoots of the Yadu family which dwelt at Mathurā on the banks of the Yamunā.[1] We are further told by the same authorities that they were the kindreds of the southern realm of Vidarbha.[2] We have evidence of a closer connection between the Bhojas and Vidarbha. A place called Bhojakaṭa is included within Vidarbha both by the Harivaṁśa[3] and the Mahābhārata (V. 157. 15-16). The Chammak grant of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II makes it clear that the Bhojakaṭa territory included the Ilichpur district in Berar or Vidarbha.[4] Dr. Smith says "The name Bhojakaṭa, 'castle of the Bhojas,' implies that the province was named after a castle formerly held by the Bhojas, an ancient ruling race mentioned in the edicts of Aśoka."[5] Kālidāsa in his Raghuvaṁśa (V. 39-40) calls the king of Vidarbha a Bhoja.[6] But Vidarbha was not the only Bhoja state. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa refers to several Bhoja kings of the south. A line of Bhojas must have ruled in **Daṇḍaka**. A passage in the Arthaśāstra[7] runs thus :—

"Dāṇḍakyo nāma Bhojaḥ kāmāt Brāhmaṇa-kanyām abhimanyamānas sabandhu-rāshṭro vinanāśa"—a Bhoja known as Dāṇḍakya, or king of Daṇḍaka, making a lascivious attempt on a Brāhmaṇa girl, perished along with his relations and kingdom. We learn from the Sarabhaṅga Jātaka (No. 522) that the kingdom of Daṇḍaki (Daṇḍaka) had its capital at Kumbhavatī. According to the Rāmāyaṇa

[1] Matsya, 43. 48; 44. 46-48; Vāyu, 94. 52; 95, 18; 96. 1-2; Vishṇu, IV. 13. 1-6.

[2] Mat., 44. 36; Vāyu, 95. 35-36.

[3] Vishṇu Parva, 60. 32.

[4] JRAS., 1914, p. 329.

[5] In Ind. Ant., 1923, 262-263, Bhojakaṭa is identified with Bhat-kuli in the Amraoti District.

[6] *Cf.* also Mbh., V. 48. 74; 157. 17.

[7] Ed. 1919, p. 11.

(VII. 92. 18) the name of the capital was Madhumanta, while the Mahāvastu[1] places it at Govardhana (Nāsik).

It is clear, from what has been stated above, that there were, in the age of the later Vaidehas, and the Brāhmaṇas, many kingdoms in the south, both Aryan and Non-Aryan, namely, the Bhoja kingdoms, one of which was Vidarbha, and another, probably, Daṇḍaka, as well as Assaka and Kaliṅga. With the exception of these organised states the whole of Trans-Vindhyan India was occupied by non-Aryan (dasyu) tribes such as the Andhras, Śavaras, Pulindas and probably also the Mūtibas.[2] In the opinion of Dr. Smith the **Andhras** were a Dravidian people, now represented by the large population speaking the Telugu language, who occupied the deltas of the Godāvarī and the Kṛishṇā. Mr. P. T. Śrīnivās Iyengar argues that the Andhras were originally a Vindhyan tribe, and that the extension of Andhra power was from the west to the east down the Godāvarī and Kṛishṇā valleys.[3] Prof. Bhandarkar points out that the Serivāṇij Jātaka places Andhapura, *i.e.*, the pura or capital of the Andhras, on the river Telavāha which he identifies with the modern Tel or Telingiri.[4] But if "Seri"[5] or Śrī-rājya refers to the Gaṅga Kingdom of Mysore, Telavāha may have been another name of the Tuṅgabhadrā-Krishṇā, and Andhapura identical with Bezvāda. The Mayidavolu plates of the early Pallava king Śiva-skanda-varman prove that the Andhra country (Andhrā patha) embraced the Kṛishṇā District and had its centre at Dhaññakaḍa or Bezvāda.[6]

The **Śavaras** and the Pulindas are described in the Matsya and the Vāyu Purāṇas as Dakshiṇā-patha-vāsinaḥ,

[1] Senart's Edition, p. 363.
[2] Ait. Br., VII. 18.
[3] Ind. Ant., 1913, pp. 276-8.
[4] Ind. Ant., 1918, p. 71.
[5] 'Seri' may also refer to Śrī-Vijaya or Sumatra.
[6] Ep. Ind., VI. 88.

together with the Vaidarbhas and the Daṇḍakas :

Teshām pare janapadā Dakshiṇā-patha-vāsinaḥ

* * * *

Kārūshāścha saha-ishīkā Āṭavyāḥ Śavarās tathā
Pulindā Vindhya Pushikā(?) Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ saha
(Matsya, 114. 46-48.)

Ābhīrāḥ saha cha-ishīkāḥ Āṭavyāḥ Śavarāścha ye
Pulindā Vindhya Mulikā Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ saha
(Vāyu, 45. 126.)

The Mahābhārata also places the Andhras, Pulindas and Śavaras in the Deccan :

Dakshiṇā-patha-janmānaḥ sarve naravar-Āndhrakāḥ
Guhāḥ Pulindāḥ Śavarāś Chuchukā Madrakaiḥ(?) saha.
(Mbh. XII, 207. 42.)

The precise position and extent of the country of the Śavaras cannot be shown. They are usually identified with the Suari of Pliny and the Sabarae of Ptolemy, and are probably represented by the Savaralu, or Sauras of the Vizagapatam Hills, and the Savaris of the Gwalior territory.[1]

The capital of the **Pulindas** (Pulinda-nagara) probably lay to the south-east of Daśārṇa,[2] *i.e.*, the Vidiśā or Bhilsa region.[3]

The location of the territory of the **Mūtibas**, another Dasyu tribe mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa along with the Andhras, Pulindas, and Śavaras, is not so certain. Pliny refers to a tribe called "Modubae," and places them beyond the "Modo-galingae," who inhabited a very large

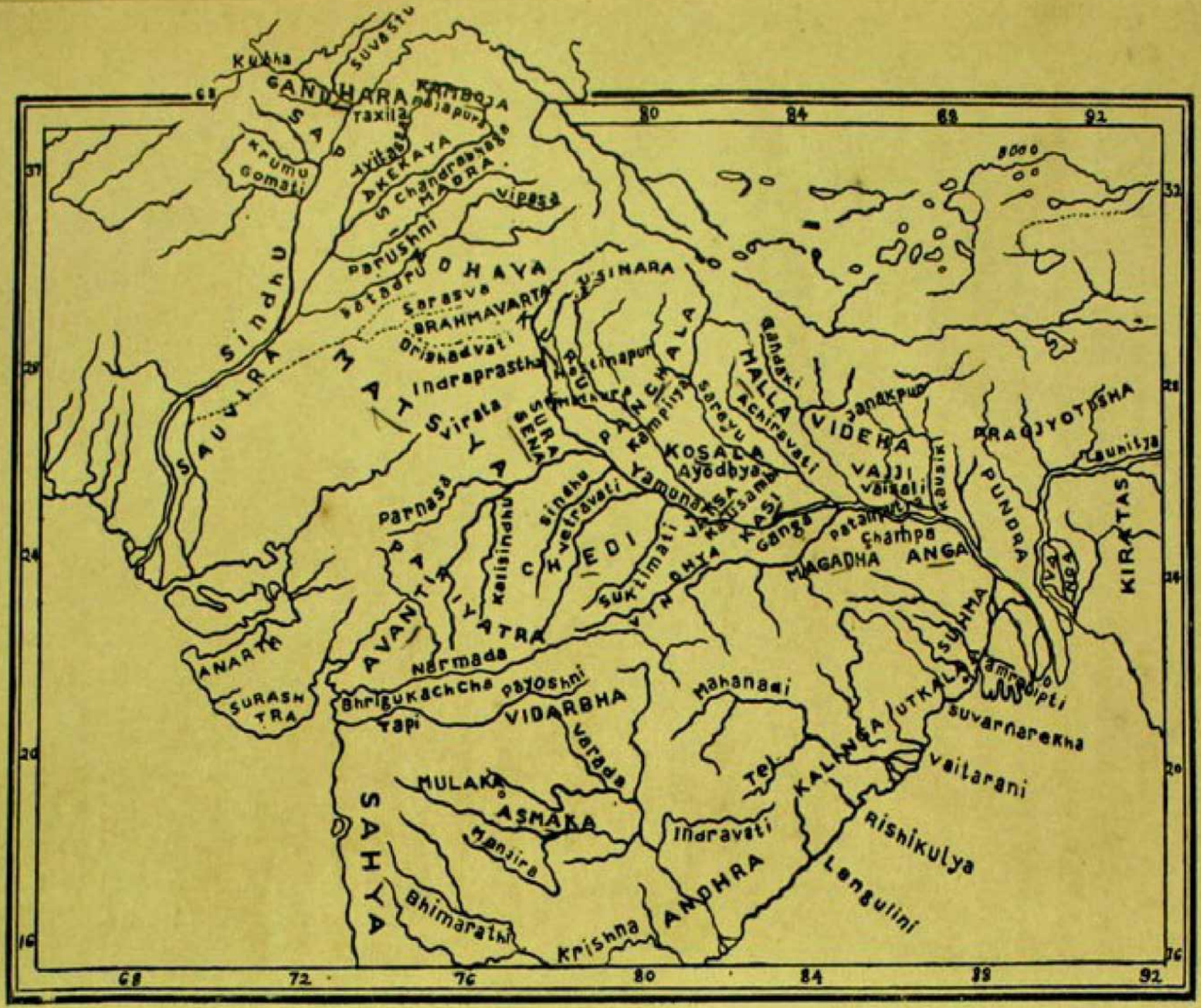
[1] Ind. Ant., 1879, p. 282 ; Cunn. AGI, new ed., pp. 583, 586 ; The Imp. Gaz., The Indian Empire, I, 384.

[2] Mbh., II. 5-10.

[3] Meghadūta, 24-25.

island in the Ganges. The Modubae are associated with the Uberae, perhaps identical with the Śavaras of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. In the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XV. 26. 6) the Mūtibas are called Mūchīpa or Mūvīpa. It is not altogether improbable that the Mūchīpas are the people who appear in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (57. 46) under the designation of Mūshika. A comparison of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa with the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra betrays a good deal of confusion with regard to the second and third consonants of the name. It was, therefore, perfectly natural for later generations to introduce further variations. The Mūshikas were probably settled on the banks of the river Musi on which Hyderabad now stands.[1]

[1] Pargiter, Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, p. 366.



To face page 67.

The Sixteen Mahājanapadas.

The Vedic texts do not throw much light on the political history of the period which elapsed from the fall of the Videhan monarchy to the rise of Kosala under Mahākosala, the father-in-law of Bimbisāra. But we learn from the Buddhist Aṅguttara Nikāya that during this period there were sixteen states of considerable extent and power known as the "Solasa Mahājanapada."[1] These states were :—

1. Kāsi
2. Kosala
3. Aṅga
4. Magadha
5. Vajji
6. Malla
7. Chetiya (Chedi)
8. Vaṁsa (Vatsa)
9. Kuru
10. Pañchāla
11. Machchha (Matsya)
12. Sūrasena
13. Assaka
14. Avanti
15. Gandhāra
16. Kamboja

These Mahājanapadas flourished together during a period posterior to Kalāra-Janaka but anterior to Mahākosala, because one of them, Vajji, rose to power after the fall of the Videhan monarchy, while another, namely, Kāsi, lost its independence before the time of Mahākosala and formed an integral part of the Kosalan empire in the sixth century B.C.

The Jaina Bhagavatī Sūtra gives a slightly different list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas :

1. Aṅga
2. Baṅga
3. Magaha (Magadha)
4. Malaya
5. Mālava
6. Achchha
7. Vachchha (Vatsa)
8. Kochchha (Kachchha?)

[1] The Mahāvastu (I. 34) gives a similar list, but omits Gandhāra and Kamboja, substituting in their place Śibi and Daśārṇa.

9.	Pāḍha (Pāṇḍya?)	13.	Kāsi
10.	Lādha (Rāḍha)	14.	Kosala
11.	Bajji (Vajji)	15.	Avaha
12.	Moli	16.	Sambhuttara (Sumhottara?)

It will be seen that Aṅga, Magadha, Vatsa, Vajji, Kāsi, and Kosala are common to both the lists. Mālava of the Bhagavatī is probably identical with Avanti of the Aṅguttara. Moli is probably a corruption of Malla. The other states mentioned in the Bhagavatī are new, and indicate a knowledge of the far east and the far south of India. The more extended horizon of the Bhagavatī clearly proves that its list is later than the one given in the Buddhist Aṅguttara. We shall, therefore, accept the Buddhist list as a correct representation of the political condition of India after the fall of the House of Janaka.

Of the sixteen Mahājanapadas **Kāsi** was probably at first the most powerful. We have already seen that Kāsi probably played a prominent part in the subversion of the Videhan monarchy. Several Jātakas bear witness to the superiority of its capital Benares over the other cities, and the imperial ambition of its rulers. The Guttila Jātaka (No. 243) says that the city of Benares is the chief city in all India. It extended over twelve leagues[1] whereas Mithilā and Indapatta were each only seven leagues in extent.[2] Several Kāsi monarchs are described as aspirants for the dignity of "sabbarājunam aggarāja," and lord of sakala-Jambudīpa.[3] The Mahāvagga also mentions the fact that Kāsi was a great realm in former times :

"Bhūtapubbaṁ bhikkave Bārāṇasiyam Brahmadatto nāma Kāsirājā ahosi aḍḍho mahaddhano mahābhogo mahadbalo mahāvāhano mahāvijito paripuṇṇakosa koṭṭhāgāro."[4]

[1] "Dvādasa-yojanikam sakala Bārāṇasī nagaram"—Sambhava Jātaka, No. 515; Sarabha-miga J. 483; Bhūridatta J. 543.

[2] Suruchi J. 489; Vidhurapaṇḍita J. 545.

[3] Bhaddasāla Jātaka, 465; Dhonasākha Jātaka, 353.

[4] Mahāvagga, X. 2. 3; Vinaya Piṭakam, I. 342.

The Jainas also afford testimony to the greatness of Kāsi, and represent Aśvasena, king of Benares, as the father of their Tīrthakara Pārśva who is said to have died 250 years before Mahāvīra, *i.e.*, in 777 B. C.

Already in the Brāhmaṇa period a king of Kāsi named Dhṛitarāshṭra attempted to offer a horse sacrifice, but was defeated by Śatānīka Sātrājita with the result that the Kāsis down to the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, gave up the kindling of the sacred fire.[1] Some of the other Kāsi monarchs were more fortunate. Thus in the Brahāchatta Jātaka (No. 336) a king of Benares is said to have gone against the king of Kosala with a large army. He entered the city of Sāvatthi and took the king prisoner. The Kosambī Jātaka (No. 428), the Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536), and the Mahāvagga[2] refer to the annexation of the kingdom of Kosala by the Brahmadattas of Kāsi. The Assaka Jātaka (No. 207) refers to the city of Potali, the capital of Assaka in Southern India, as a city of the kingdom of Kāsi. Evidently the reigning prince of Potali was a vassal of the sovereign of Kāsi. In the Sona-Nanda Jātaka (No. 532) Manoja, king of Benares, is said to have subdued the kings of Kosala, Aṅga, and Magadha. In the Mahābhārata (XIII. 30) Pratardana, king of Kāsi, is said to have crushed the power of the Vītahavyas or Haihayas. (In the absence of corroborative evidence it is difficult to say how far the account of the achievements of individual kings, mentioned in the Jātakas and the epic, is authentic. But the combined testimony of many Jātakas and the Mahāvagga clearly proves that Kāsi was at one time a great, almost an imperial power, stronger than many of its neighbours including Kosala.)

Prof. Bhandarkar points out that several Kāsi monarchs, who figure in the Jātakas, are also mentioned in the

[1] Śat. Br., XIII, 5. 4. 19.
[2] S. B. E., Vol. XIII, pp. 294-99.

Purāṇas, *e.g.*, Vissasena of Jātaka No. 268, Udaya of Jātaka No. 458, and Bhallāṭiya of Jātaka No. 504 are mentioned in the Purāṇas as Vishvaksena, Udakasena, and Bhallāṭa.[1]

We learn from the Bhojājāniya Jātaka (No. 23) that "all the kings round coveted the kingdom of Benares." We are told that on one occasion seven kings encompassed Benares (Jātaka 181). Benares in this respect resembled ancient Babylon and mediæval Rome, being the coveted prize of its more warlike but less civilized neighbours.

The kingdom of **Kosala** was bounded on the west by Pañchāla, on the south by the Sarpikā or Syandikā (Sai) river,[2] on the east by the Sadānīrā which separated it from Videha, and on the north by the Nepāl hills. Roughly speaking, it corresponds to the modern Oudh. It included the territory of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu. In the Sutta Nipāta[3] Buddha says, "just beside Himavanta there lives a people endowed with the power of wealth, the inhabitants of *Kosala*. They are *Ādichchas*[4] by family, Sākiyas by birth; from that family I have wandered out, not longing for sensual pleasures." This passage leaves no room for doubt that the Sākiyas or Śākyas were included among the inhabitants of Kosala. If any doubt is still entertained it is set at rest by Pasenadi's words recorded in the Majjhima Nikāya (II. 124):

"Bhagavā pi khattiyo, aham pi khattiyo, *Bhagava pi Kosalako* aham pi Kosalako, Bhagavā pi āsītiko, aham pi āsītiko."

Kosala proper contained three great cities, namely, Ayodhyā, Sāketa and Sāvatthi or Śrāvastī, besides a number

[1] Matsya, 49. 57 *et seq.*; Vāyu, 99. 180 *et seq.*; Vishṇu, IV. 19. 13.

[2] Rām., II. 49. 11-12; 50. 1.

[3] S. B. E., X, Part II, 68-69.

[4] Belonging to the Āditya (Solar) race (*cf.* Lüders Ins., 929 i). For an early reference to the Lunar family (Chandra-Suta) see the Nānāghāṭ inscription (*ASWI*, V. P. 60).

of minor towns like Setavyā[1] and Ukkaṭṭha.[2] Ayodhyā (Oudh) was a town on the river Sarayū. Sāketa is often supposed to be the same as Ayodhyā, but Prof. Rhys Davids points out that both cities are mentioned as existing in the Buddha's time. They were possibly adjoining like London and Westminster. Sāvatthi is the great ruined city on the south bank of the Rāptī called Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh which is situated on the borders of the Goṇḍa and Bahraich districts of the United Provinces.

In the story of the spread of Aryan culture told in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa the Kosalas appear as falling later than the Kuru Pañchālas, but earlier than the Videhas, under the influence of Brāhmaṇical civilisation.

In the Rāmāyaṇa and in the Purāṇas the royal family of Kosala is represented as being descended from a king named Ikshvāku. Branches of this family are represented as ruling at Viśālā or Vaiśālī,[3] at Mithilā [4] and at Kusinārā.[5] A prince named Ikshvāku is mentioned in a passage of the Ṛig Veda.[6] In the Atharva Veda [7] either Ikshvāku, or one of his descendants, is referred to as an ancient hero. The Purāṇas give lists of kings of the Aikshvāka dynasty from Ikshvāku himself to Prasenajit, the contemporary of Bimbisāra. Many of these kings are mentioned in the Vedic literature. For example :—

Mandhātṛi Yuvanāśva (Vāyu, 88. 67) is mentioned in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (I. 2. 10 *et seq.*).

Purukutsa (Vāyu, 88. 72) is mentioned in the Ṛig Veda (I. 63. 7 ; 112. 7. 14 ; 174. 2. VI. 20. 10). In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 5) he is called an Aikshvāka.

1 Pāyāsi Suttanta.
2 Ambaṭṭha Sutta.
3 Rāmāyaṇa, I. 47. 11-12.
4 Vāyu. P., 89. 3.
5 The Kusa Jātaka No. 531.
The Mahāvastu (III. 1) places an Ikshvāku king in Benares—Abhūshi Rāje Ikshvāku Vārāṇasyāṁ mahāvalo.
6 X. 60. 4.
7 XIV. 39. 9

Trasadasyu (Vāyu, 88. 74) is mentioned in the Ṛig Veda (IV. 38. 1; VII. 19. 3, etc.).

Tryaruṇa (Vāyu, 88. 77) is mentioned in the Ṛig Veda (V. 27). In the Pāñchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 3. 12) he is called an Aikshvāka.

Triśaṅku (Vāyu, 88, 109) is mentioned in the Taittirīya Upanishad (I. 10. 1).

Hariśchandra (Vāyu, 88. 117) is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 13. 16) and is styled Aikshvāka.

Rohita, the son of Hariśchandra (Vāyu, 88. 119) is also mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 14).

Bhagīratha (Vāyu, 88. 167) is mentioned in the Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa (IV. 2. 12) and is called Aikshvāka. Under the name of Bhajeratha he is probably referred to in the Ṛig Veda (X. 60. 2) itself.

Ambarīsha (Vāyu, 88. 171) is mentioned in the Ṛig Veda (I. 100. 17).

Ṛituparṇa (Vāyu, 88. 173) is mentioned in a Brāhmaṇa-like passage of the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XX. 12).

Daśaratha (Vāyu, 88. 183) is possibly mentioned in the Ṛig Veda (I. 126. 4).

Rāma (Vāyu, 88. 184) may be the person of the same name mentioned in the Ṛig Veda (X. 93. 14). But Daśaratha and Rāma in the Vedic passages are not connected with either the Ikshvāku family or with Kosala.

Hiraṇya-nābha Kausalya (Vāyu, 88. 207), is mentioned in the Praśna Upanishad, VI. 1, and the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, XVI. 9. 13. He is probably connected with Para Āṭṇāra Hairaṇya-nābha, the Kosala king mentioned in a *gāthā* occurring in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIII. 5. 4. 4. According

to the Praśna Upanishad, Hiraṇya-nābha was a contemporary of Sukeśā Bhāradvāja (VI. 1), who was himself a contemporary of Kausalya Āśvalāyana (Praśna, I. 1). If it be true, as seems probable, that Āśvalāyana of Kosala is identical with Assalāyana of Sāvatthi mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya (II. 147 *et seq.*) as a contemporary of Gotama Buddha, he must be placed in the sixth century B. C. Consequently Hiraṇyanābha, too, must have lived in that century. The patronymic "Hairaṇya-nābha" of Para Āṭṇāra probably indicates that he was a son of Hiraṇyanābha.

Some of the later princes of the Purāṇic list (*e.g.*, Śākya, Suddhodana, Siddhārtha, Rāhula and Prasenajit) are mentioned in Buddhist texts. The relations of Hiraṇya-nābha with Prasenajit, who also flourished in the sixth century B.C., will be discussed in a later chapter.

It is clear from the facts mentioned above that the Purāṇic lists contain names of real kings and princes. But they have many glaring defects.

(1) Branches of the Ikshvāku family ruling over different territories have been mixed together, *e.g.*, Trasadasyu, king of the Pūrus,[1] Ṛituparṇa, king of Śaphāla,[2] Śuddhodana of Kapilavastu and Prasenajit, king of Śrāvastī, have been mentioned in such a way as to leave the impression that they formed a continuous line of princes who ruled in regular succession.

(2) Contemporaries have been represented as successors and collaterals have been represented as lineal descendants, *e.g.*, Prasenajit, king of Śrāvastī, is represented as the lineal successor of Siddhārtha and Rāhula, though he was

[1] Ṛig Veda, IV. 38. 1 ; VII. 19. 3.
[2] Baud. Śrauta Sūtra, XX. 12. *Cf.* Āpas. Śr. Sūtra, XXI. 20. 3.

actually a contemporary of Siddhārtha, and belonged to a different branch of the Ikshvāku family.

(3) Certain names have been omitted, *e.g.*, Vedhas, Para Āṭṇāra and Mahākosala.

(4) The name of Siddhārtha (Buddha), who never ruled, has been included.

It is not easy to find out all the kings of the Purāṇic list who actually ruled over Kosala. The names of some of the earlier kings of the list, *e.g.*, Purukutsa, Trasadasyu Hariśchandra, Rohita, Ṛituparṇa and a few others, are omitted from the dynastic list of the kings of Ayodhyā given in the Rāmāyaṇa (I. 70). We gather from the Vedic literature that most, if not all, of these princes ruled over territories lying outside Kosala. The only kings or Rājās mentioned in the Purāṇic list who are known from Vedic and early Buddhist texts to have reigned in Kosala, or over some part of it, are Hiraṇyanābha, Prasenajit and Śuddhodana.

The Vedic texts mention another king named Para Āṭṇāra. The Buddhist works mention a few other kings of Kosala, but their names do not occur in the epic and Purāṇic lists. Some of these kings had their capital at Ayodhyā, others at Sāketa, and the rest at Śrāvastī. Of the princes of Ayodhyā, the Ghata Jātaka (No. 454) mentions Kālasena. A Kosalarāja reigning in Sāketa is mentioned in the Nandiyamiga Jātaka (No. 385). Vaṅka, Mahākosala and many others[1] had their capital at Sāvatthi or Śrāvastī. Ayodhyā seems to have been the earliest capital, and Sāketa the next. The last capital was Śrāvastī. Ayodhyā had sunk to the level of an unimportant town in Buddha's time,[2] but Sāketa and Śrāvastī were included among the six great cities of India.[3]

[1] *E.g.*, The Kosalarāja of J. 75; Chatta (336); Sabbamitta (512); and Prasenajit.
[2] Buddhist India, p. 34.
[3] Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, S.B.E., XI, p. 99.

The chronology of ancient Kosala is in a state of utmost confusion. If the Purāṇas are to be believed, a prince named Divākara occupied the throne of Ayodhyā in the time of Adhisīma-kṛishṇa, great-great-grandson of Parikshit. It is not known when the older capitals were abandoned in favour of Śrāvastī. But it must have been some considerable time before the accession of Prasenajit, the contemporary of Bimbisāra, and of Udayana, the descendant of Adhisīma-kṛishṇa.

We learn from the Mahāvagga[1] that during the period of the earlier Brahmadattas of Kāsi, Kosala was a small realm : Dīghīti nāma Kosala-rājā ahosi daliddo appadhano appabhogo appabalo appavāhano appavijito aparipuṇṇa-kosakoṭṭhāgāro.

In the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., however, Kosala was a mighty kingdom which contended first with Kāsi, and afterwards with Magadha for the mastery of the Madhya-deśa. The history of its struggles with Kāsi is reserved for treatment in a later chapter. The rivalry with Magadha ended in the absorption of the kingdom into the Magadhan Empire.

Aṅga was the country to the east of Magadha. It was separated from the latter kingdom by the river Champā, modern Chāndan. The Aṅga dominions, however, at one time included Magadha and probably extended to the shores of the sea. The Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka (No. 545) describes Rājagṛiha as a city of Aṅga. The Śānti Parva of the Mahābhārata (29. 35) refers to an Aṅga king who sacrificed on Mount Vishṇupada (at Gayā). The Sabhāparva (44.9) mentions Aṅga and Vaṅga as forming one Vishaya or kingdom. The Kathā-sarit-sāgara says[2] that Viṭaṅkapur, a city of the Aṅgas, was situated on the shore of the sea.

[1] S.B.E., XVII, p. 29.

[2] 25.35 ; 26.115 ; 82.3-16.

Champā, the famous capital of Aṅga, stood on the river of the same name (Jātaka 506) and the Ganges.[1] Cunningham points out that there still exist near Bhāgalpur two villages, Champanagara and Champapura, which most probably represent the actual site of the ancient capital. It is stated in the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and the Harivaṁśa that the ancient name of Champā was Mālinī : [2]

Champasya tu purī Champā
Yā Māliny-abhavat purā.

In the Jātaka stories the city is also called Kāla-Champā. The Mahā-Janaka Jātaka (No. 539) informs us that Champā was sixty leagues from Mithilā. The same Jātaka refers to its gate, watch-tower, and walls. Down to the time of Gotama Buddha's death it was considered as one of the six great cities of India, the other five being Rājagṛiha, Śrāvastī, Śāketa, Kauśāmbī, and Benares.[3] Champā increased in wealth and traders sailed from it to Suvarṇa-bhūmi for trading purposes.[4] Emigrants from Champā to Cochin China are supposed to have named their settlement after this famous Indian city.[5] Another important city in Aṅga was Bhaddiya.[6]

The earliest appearance of Aṅga is in the Atharva Veda (V. 22. 14) in connection with the Gandhāris, Mūjavants, and Magadhas. The Rāmāyaṇa tells an absurd story about the origin of this Janapada. It is related in that epic that Madana having incurred the displeasure of Mahādeva fled from the hermitage of the latter to escape his consuming

[1] Watters, Yuan Chwang, II. 181 ; Daśakumāra Charita, II. 2.

[2] Matsya, 48. 97 ; Vāyu, 99. 105-06 ; Hariv., 32. 49 ; Mbh., XII. 5. 6. 7.

[3] Mahāparinibbāna Sutta.

[4] Jātaka, Camb. Ed., VI, 539, p. 20.

[5] Ind. Ant., VI. 229, Itsing, 58. Nundolal Dey, Notes on Ancient Aṅga, JASB, 1914. For the Hindu colonisation of Champā see Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III, p. 137 ff. The oldest Sanskrit inscription (that of Vo-can) dates from the third century A.D. The inscription mentions a Buddhist king of the family of Śrī Māra-rāja.

[6] Harvard Oriental Series 29. 59.

anger, and the region where "he cast off his body (Aṅga)" has since been known by the name of Aṅga.[1] The Mahābhārata attributes the foundation of the kingdom to a prince named Aṅga. There may be some truth in this tradition. Aṅga Vairochana is included in the list of anointed kings in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 22).[2] The Mahāgovinda Suttanta mentions king Dhataraṭṭha of Aṅga.[3] The Buddhist texts mention a queen named Gaggarā who gave her name to a famous lake in Champā. The Purāṇas[4] give lists of the early kings of Aṅga. One of these kings, Dadhivāhana, is known to Jaina tradition. The Purāṇas and the Harivaṁśa (32. 43) represent him as the son and immediate successor of Aṅga. Jaina tradition places him in the beginning of the sixth century B.C. His daughter Chandanā or Chandrabālā was the first female who embraced Jainism shortly after Mahāvīra had attained the Kevalship.[5] Śatānīka, king of Kauśāmbī attacked Champā, the capital of Dadhivāhana, and in the confusion which ensued, Chandanā fell into the hands of a robber, but all along she maintained the vows of the order. Magadha was then a small kingdom. (A great struggle for supremacy was going on between Aṅga and Magadha.[6] The Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka[7] describes Rājagṛiha as a city of Aṅga, while the Mahābhārata refers to a sacrifice which an Aṅga king performed at Mt. Vishṇupada (at Gayā). These facts probably indicate that at one time the Aṅga king annexed Magadha. Brahmadatta, king of Aṅga, is actually known to have defeated Bhaṭṭiya, king of Magadha. Aṅga had,

1 JASB, 1914, p. 317.

2 For a discussion about the origin of the Aṅgas and other kindred tribes, see S. Lévi "pre-Aryen et pré-Dravidien dans, l'Inde," J.A., juillet-septembre, 1923.

3 Dialogues of the Buddha, II. 270.

4 Matsya, 48. 91-108; Vāyu, 99. 100-112.

5 JASB, 1914, pp. 320-21.

6 Champeyya Jātaka.

7 Cowell, VI. 133.

at this time, an ally in the king of the Vatsas. Śrī Harsha speaks of a king of Aṅga named Dṛiḍhavarman being restored to his kingdom by Udayana, king of Kauśāmbī.[1]

The destruction of the kingdom of Aṅga was effected by Bhaṭṭiya's son Bimbisāra Śreṇika of Magadha who killed Brahmadatta, took his capital Champā, and resided there as Viceroy till his father's death when he returned to Rājagṛiha.[2]

Magadha corresponds roughly to the present Patna and Gayā districts of Bihār. Its earliest capital was Girivraja, or old Rājagṛiha, near Rājgir among the hills near Gayā. The Mahāvagga[3] calls it Giribbaja of the Magadhas to distinguish it from other cities of the same name, *e.g.* Girivraja in Kekaya. The Mahābhārata refers to it as Girivraja, Bārhadratha-pura (II. 24.44), and Māgadha-pura (Goratham girimāsādya dadṛiśur Māgadham puram, II. 20. 30), and says that it was an impregnable city, puraṁ durādharshaṁ samantataḥ, being protected by five hills, Vaihāra "Vipulaḥ śailo," Varāha, Vṛishabha, Ṛishigiri and Chaityaka. From the Rāmāyaṇa we learn that the city had another name Vasumatī (I. 32. 8). The life of Hiuen Tsang (p. 113) mentions still another name, Kusāgra-pura. Indian Buddhist writers give a seventh name, Bimbasāra-puri.[4]

In a passage of the Ṛig Veda (III. 53. 14) mention is made of a territory called Kīkaṭa ruled by a chieftain named Pramaganda. Yāska[5] declares that Kīkaṭa was the name of a non-Aryan country. In later works Kīkaṭa is given as a synonym of Magadha (*cf.* Abhidhāna chintāmaṇi, "Kīkaṭā Magadhāhvayāḥ"; Bhāgavata Purāṇa I. 3. 24 :

[1] Priyadarśikā, Act IV.
[2] Hardy : A Manual of Buddhism, p. 163 n ; JASB., 1914, p. 321.
[3] S.B.E., XIII. 150.
[4] Law, Buddhagosha, 87 n.
[5] Nirukta, VI, 32.

Buddhonāmn-ā'ñjana-sutaḥ Kīkaṭeshu bhavishyati; Śrīdhara "Kīkaṭaḥ Gayāpradeśaḥ").[1]

In the Bṛihad-dharma Purāṇa we have the following verses :—

Kīkaṭe nāma deśe'sti Kāka-karṇākhyako nṛipaḥ
Prajānāṁ hitakrinnityaṁ Brahma-dveshakaras tathā
tatra deśe Gayā nāma puṇyadeśo'sti viśrutaḥ
nadī cha Karṇadā nāma pitṛīnāṁ svargadāyinī

(Madhya-khaṇḍam, XXVI. 20. 22.)

Kīkaṭe cha mṛito'pyesha pāpabhūmau na saṁśayaḥ

(XXVI. 47.)

It is clear from these ślokas that Kīkaṭa included the Gayā region, but the greater part of it was looked upon as pāpabhūmi (*cf.* Anārya-nivāsa of Yāska). Kāka-karṇa of line 1, may be the same as Kāka-varṇa of the Śaiśunāga family.

The name Magadha first appears in the Atharva Veda (V. 22.14) where fever is wished away to the Gandhāris, Mūjavants, Aṅgas, and Magadhas. The men of Magadha are usually spoken of in the early Vedic literature in terms of contempt. In the Vrātya (XV) book of the Atharva Saṁhitā, the Vrātya, *i.e.*, the Indian living outside the pale of Brāhmaṇism, is brought into very special relation to the Pumśchalī and the Māgadha, faith is called his harlot, the Mitra his Māgadha.[2] In the Śrauta Sūtras the equipment characteristic of the Vrātya is said to be given, when the latter is admitted into the Aryan Brāhmaṇical community, to the so-called Brāhmaṇas living in Magadha, Brahmabandhu Māgadhadeśīya.[3] The Brāhmaṇas of Magadha are here spoken of in a sneering tone as *Brahmabandhu*. In the Śāṅkhāyaṇa Āraṇyaka, however, the views of a "Magadhavāsi" Brāhmaṇa are quoted with

[1] For the connection of Kīkaṭa with the Mauryas see Ep. Ind., II. 222.
[2] Weber, Hist. Ind. Lit., p. 112.
[3] Vedic Index, II. 116.

respect. The Vedic dislike of the Magadhas in early times was due, according to Oldenberg[1] to the fact that the Magadhas were not wholly Brāhmanised. Pargiter suggests[2] that in Magadha the Aryans met and mingled with a body of invaders from the east by sea.

With the exception of Pramaganda no king of Magadha appears to be mentioned in the Vedic literature.

The earliest dynasty of Magadha according to the Mahābhārata (I. 63. 30) and the Purāṇas is that founded by Bṛihadratha, the son of Vasu Chaidy-Oparichara, and the father of Jarāsandha. The Rāmāyaṇa (I. 32. 7) makes Vasu himself the founder of Girivraja or Vasumatī. A Bṛihadratha is mentioned twice in the Ṛig Veda (I. 36. 18; X. 49. 6) but there is nothing to show that he is identical with the father of Jarāsandha. The Purāṇas give lists of the Bārhadratha kings from Jarāsandha's son Sahadeva to Ripuñjaya, and apparently make Senājit, seventh in descent from Sahadeva, the contemporary of Adhisīma-kṛishṇa of the Pārikshita family and Divākara of the Ikshvāku line. But in the absence of independent external corroboration it is not safe to accept the Purāṇic chronology and order of succession of these princes as authentic.[3] The Bārhadrathas are said to have passed away when Pulika placed his son Pradyota on the throne of Avanti. As Pradyota was a contemporary of Gotama Buddha it is reasonable to conclude that the Bārhadratha dynasty came to an end in the sixth century B.C. The Jaina writers mention two early kings of Rājagṛiha named Samudra-vijaya and his son Gaya.[4] Gaya is said to have reached perfection which has been taught by the Jainas. But very little reliance can be placed on the uncorroborated assertions of late Jaina authors.

1 Buddha, 400 n.
2 J.R.A.S., 1908, pp. 851-53.
3 *Cf.* pp. 73, 74, *supra*.
4 S.B.E., XLV, 86.

The second Magadhan dynasty, according to the Purāṇas, was the Śaiśunāga line founded by a king named Śiśunāga. Bimbisāra, the contemporary of Buddha, is said to have belonged to this dynasty. Aśvaghosha, however, in his Buddha-charita, distinctly (XI. 2) refers to Śreṇya, *i.e.*, Bimbisāra, as a scion, not of the Śaiśunāga family, but of the **Haryanka-kula**, and the Mahāvaṁsa makes Susunāga the founder of a dynasty which succeeded that of Bimbisāra. The Purāṇas themselves relate that Śiśunāga will destroy the prestige of the Pradyotas and will be king :—

Ashṭa-triṁśachchhatam bhāvyāḥ
Prādyotāḥ pañcha te sutāḥ
Hatvā teshāṁ yaśaḥ kṛitsnaṁ
Śiśunāgo bhavishyati.[1]

If this statement be true, then Śiśunāga must be later than the first Pradyota, namely Chaṇḍa Pradyota Mahāsena, who was, according to the early Pāli texts, a contemporary of Bimbisāra. It follows that Śiśunāga must be later than Bimbisāra. But we have seen that the Purāṇas make Śiśunāga an ancestor of Bimbisāra. Thus the Purāṇas, in their present form, are self-contradictory. The inclusion of Vārāṇasī and Vaiśālī within Śiśunāga's dominions [2] proves that he came after Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru who were the first to establish Magadhan authority in those regions. The Mālālaṅkāravatthu tells us that Rājagṛiha lost her rank of royal city from the time of Śiśunāga. This also indicates that Śiśunāga came after the palmy days of Rājagṛiha, *i.e.*, the period of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru. Prof. Bhandarkar in his Carmichael Lectures, 1918, accepts the Ceylonese version and rejects the Purāṇic account of Bimbisāra's lineage. He makes

[1] Vāyu Purāṇa, 99, 314.
[2] Dynasties of the Kali Age, 21 ; S.B.E , XI, p. xvi.

Bimbisāra the founder of his dynasty, and says that he was a general who carved out a kingdom for himself at the expense of the Vajjis. The Mahāvaṁsa, however, states[1] that Bimbisāra was anointed king by his own father when he was only 15 years old. Turnour and N. L. Dey mention Bhatiyo or Bhaṭṭiya as the name of the father.[2] The Tibetans on the other hand, call him *Mahāpadma*.[3] We have already mentioned his defeat at the hands of Brahmadatta, king of Aṅga. The defeat was avenged by Bimbisāra who launched Magadha into that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when Aśoka sheathed his sword after the conquest of Kaliṅga.

The **Vajjis**, according to Prof. Rhys Davids and Cunningham, included eight confederate clans (aṭṭha-kula), of whom the *Videhans*, the *Lichchhavis*, the *Jñātṛikas* and the *Vajji* proper were the most important. The identity of the remaining clans remains uncertain. It may, however, be noted here that in a passage of the *Sūtra-kṛitāṅga*, the *Ugras*, the *Bhogas*, the *Aikshvākas* and the *Kauravas* are associated with the Jñātṛis and the Lichchhavis as subjects of the same ruler and members of the same assembly.[4] The Aṅguttara Nikāya,[5] too, refers to the close connection of the Ugras with Vesāli or Vaiśālī, the capital of the Vajjian confederation.

The *Videhans* had their capital at Mithilā which is identified by some scholars with the small town of Janakpur just within the Nepāl border. But a section of them may have settled in Vaiśālī. To this section probably belonged the princess Triśalā, also called Videha-dattā, mother of Mahāvīra.

[1] Geiger's translation, p. 12.
[2] Turnour, *Mahāvaṁsa*, I. 10; J.A.S.B., 1914, 321.
[3] *Essay on Guṇāḍhya*, p. 173.
[4] S.B.E., XLV, 339. [5] I, 26, III, 49; IV, 208.

The *Lichchhavis* had their capital at Vesālī (Vaiśālī) which has been identified with Besārh (to the east of the Gaṇḍak) in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihār. Vesāli is probably identical with the city called Viśālā in the Rāmāyaṇa :[1]

Viśālāṁ nagarīṁ ramyāṁ divyāṁ svargopamāṁ tadā.

We learn from the introductory portion of the Ekapaṇṇa Jātaka (No. 149) that a triple wall encompassed the city, each wall a league distant from the next, and there were three gates with watch-towers.

The *Jñātṛikas* were the clan of Siddhārtha and his son Mahāvīra the Jina. They had their seats at Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagrāma and Kollāga, suburbs of Vesālī. Nevertheless they were known as "Vesālie," *i.e.*, inhabitants of Vesālī.[2]

The Vajjis or *Vṛijis* are mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 2. 131). Kauṭilya [3] distinguishes the Vṛijikas or Vajjis from the Lichchhivikas. Yuan Chwang [4] also distinguishes the *Fu-li-chih* (Vṛiji) country from *Fei-she-li* (Vaiśālī). It seems that Vṛijika or Vajji was not only the name of the confederacy, but also of one of the constituent clans. But the Vajjis, like the Lichchhavis, are often associated with the city of Vesālī which was not only the capital of the Lichchhavi clan, but also the metropolis of the entire confederacy.[5] A Buddhist tradition quoted by Rockhill [6] mentions the city of Vesālī as consisting of three districts. These districts were probably at one time the seats of three different clans. The remaining clans of the confederacy

[1] Ādi, 45. 10.

[2] Hoernle, Uvāsaga-dasāo, II, p. 4n.

[3] Mysore Edition, 1919, p. 378.

[4] Watters, II. 81.

[5] *Cf.* Majjhima Nikāya, II. 101 ; the Book of the Kindred Sayings, Samyutta Nikāya, by Mrs. Rhys Davids, pp. 257, 259.

[6] Life of Buddha, p. 62.

resided in suburbs and villages like Kuṇḍagrāma, Kollāga, Vāṇiyagāma, Hatthigāma, etc.[1]

We have seen that during the Brāhmaṇa period Mithilā had a monarchical constitution. The Rāmāyaṇa (I. 47. 11-17) and the Purāṇas[2] state that *Viśālā*, too, was at first ruled by kings. The founder of the Vaiśālika dynasty is said to have been Viśāla, a son of Ikshvāku according to the Rāmāyaṇa ; a descendant of Nabhāga, the brother of Ikshvāku, according to the Purāṇas. Viśāla is said to have given his name to the city. After him came Hemachandra, Suchandra, Dhumrāśva, Sṛiñjaya, Sahadeva, Kuśāśva, Somadatta, Kākutstha and Sumati. We do not know how much of the Rāmāyaṇic and Purāṇic account of the Vaiśālika *nṛipas* can be accepted as sober history. A king named Sahadeva Sārñjaya is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (II. 4. 4. 3. 4) as having once been called Suplan Sārñjaya and as having changed his name because of his success in performing the Dākshāyaṇa sacrifice. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 34. 9) he is mentioned with Somaka Sāhadevya. None of these kings, however, are connected with Vaiśālī in the Vedic literature.

The Vajjian confederation must have been organised after the fall of the royal houses of Videha. Political evolution in India thus resembles closely the political evolution in the ancient cities of Greece where also the monarchies of the Heroic Age were succeeded by aristocratic republics.

[1] For the *Ugras* and *Bhogas* see Bṛih. Up., III. 8. 2; S.B.E., XLV, 71n. In the Aṅguttara, Nikāya, I. 26, the Ugras are associated with Vaiśālī (Uggo gahapati Vesāliko). In IV. 212 they are associated with Hatthigāma. A city of Ugga is mentioned in the Dhammapada commentary, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 30, 184. The association of a body of *Kauravas* with the Vajjian group of clans is interesting. Kuru Brāhmaṇas, *e.g.*, Ushasti Chākrāyaṇa, had begun to settle in North Bihār long before the rise of Buddhism. For the *Aikshvākas* of North Bihār see Pargiter, AIHT, 95-97.

[2] Vāyu, 86. 16-22; Vishṇu, IV. 1. 18.

The probable causes of the transformation in Greece are thus given by Bury : " in some cases gross misrule may have led to the violent deposition of a king ; in other cases if the succession to the sceptre devolved upon an infant or a paltry man, the nobles may have taken it upon themselves to abolish the monarchy. In some cases, the rights of the king might be strictly limited, in consequence of his seeking to usurp undue authority ; and the imposition of limitations might go on until the office of the king although maintained in name, became in fact a mere magistracy in a state wherein the real power had passed elsewhere. Of the survival of monarchy in a limited form we have an example at Sparta : of its survival as a mere magistracy, in the Archon Basileus at Athens."

The cause of the transition from monarchy to republic in Mithilā has already been stated. Regarding the change at Viśālā we know nothing.

Several scholars have sought to prove that the Lichchhavis, the most famous clan of the Vajjian confederacy, were of foreign origin. According to Dr. Smith the Lichchhavis were Tibetans in their origin. He infers this from their judicial system and the disposal of their dead.[1] Dr. S. C. Vidyābhushaṇa held that the Lichchhavis were originally Persians and came from the Persian city of Nisibi.[2] The unsoundness of these theories has been demonstrated by several writers.[3] Indian tradition is unanimous in representing the Lichchhavis as Kshatriyas. Thus we read in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta : " and the Lichchhavis of Vesāli heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinārā. And the Lichchhavis of Vesāli sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying : " the Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a

[1] Ind. Ant., 1903, p. 233.
[2] Ind. Ant., 1908, p. 78.
[3] Modern Review, 1919, p. 50 ; Law, Some Kṣatriya Tribes, 26ff.

portion of the relics of the Exalted One." In the Jaina Kalpa Sūtra Triśalā, sister to Cheṭaka, who is regarded by several scholars as a Lichchhavi chief of Vesāli, is styled Kshatriyānī.[1]

Manu concurs in the view that the Lichchhavis are Rājanyas or Kshatriyas (X. 22) :

Jhallo Mallaścha rājanyād vrātyān Nichchhivireva cha
Naṭaścha Karaṇaśchaiva Khaso Drāviḍa eva cha.

It may be argued that the Lichchhavis, though originally non-Aryans or foreigners, ranked as Kshatriyas when they were admitted into the fold of Brāhmaṇism like the Drāviḍians referred to in Manu's śloka and the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of mediæval times. But unlike the Pratīhāras and Drāviḍas, the Lichchhavis never appear to be very friendly towards Brāhmaṇism. On the contrary, they were always to be found among the foremost champions of non-Brāhmaṇic creeds like Jainism and Buddhism. As a matter of fact Manu brands them as the children of the Vrātya Rājanyas. The great mediæval Rājput families (though sometimes descended from foreign immigrants) were never spoken of in these terms. On the contrary, they were supplied with pedigrees going back to Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Yadu, Arjuna and others. A body of foreigners, who were unfriendly towards the Brāhmaṇas, could hardly have been accepted as Kshatriyas. The obvious conclusion seems to be that the Lichchhavis were indigenous Kshatriyas who were degraded to the position of Vrātyas when they became champions of non-Brāhmaṇical creeds. The Pāli commentary Paramatthajotikā[2] contains a legend regarding the Lichchhavis which traces their origin to a queen of Benares.

[1] S.B.E., XXII, pp. xii, 227.
[2] Vol. I, pp. 158-65.

The date of the foundation of the Lichchhavi power is not known. But it is certain that the authority of the clan was firmly established in the time of Mahāvīra and Gotama, *i.e.*, in the sixth century B.C. A vivid description of the Lichchhavis is given by Buddha himself in the following words :[1] "Let those of the brethren who have never seen the Tāvatiṁsa gods, gaze upon this company of the Lichchhavis, behold this company of the Lichchhavis, compare this company of the Lichchhavis—even as a company of Tāvatiṁsa gods."

Buddhist tradition has preserved the names of eminent Lichchhavis like prince Abhaya, Oṭṭhaddha, Mahāli, generals Sīha and Ajita, Dummuka and Sunakkhatta.[2] In the introductory portions of the Ekapaṇṇa (149) and Chulla Kāliṅga (301) Jātakas it is stated that the Lichchhavis of the ruling family numbered 7,707.[3] There was a like number of viceroys, generals, and treasurers. The Jaina Kalpasūtra (§ 128) refers to the "nine Lichchhavis"[4] as having formed a confederacy with nine Mallakis and eighteen Gaṇarājas of Kāsi-Kosala. We learn from the Nirayāvalī Sūtra that an important leader of this confederacy was Cheṭaka[5] whose sister Triśalā or Videha dattā was the mother of Mahāvīra, and whose daughter Chellanā or Vedehī was, according to Jaina writers, the mother of Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru.

[1] S.B.E., XI, p. 32.

[2] Aṅguttara Nikāya, III. 74; Mahāli Sutta, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part I, p. 198, Part III, p. 17. Mahāvagga, S.B.E., XVII, p. 108; Majjhima N., I. 234; 68; II. 252; The Book of the Kindred Sayings, 295. For a detailed account of the Lichchhavis, see now Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*.

[3] The Dhammapada commentary (Harvard Oriental Series, 30, 168) informs us that they ruled by turns.

[4] These are probably the Vajji Mahattakā referred to in Aṅguttara, IV. 19.

[5] In the opinion of several scholars Cheṭaka was a Lichchhavi. But the secondary names of his sister (Videha dattā) and daughter (Vedehī) probably indicate that he was a Videhan domiciled at Vesālī.

The great rival of Vaiśālī was Magadha. Tradition says that even in the time of the great Bimbisāra the Vaiśālians were audacious enough to invade their neighhours across the Ganges.[1] But in the reign of Ajātaśatru the tables were turned, and the great confederacy of Vaiśālī was utterly destroyed.

The preliminaries to the conquest of Vesālī (Vaiśālī) are described in the Mahāvagga and the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta.[2]

The **Malla** territory (Mallaraṭṭha or Mallarāshṭra of the Mahābhārata, VI. 9. 34) was divided into two parts which had for their capitals the cities of Kusāvatī or Kusinārā[3] and Pāvā. The exact site of *Kusinārā* is not yet known. In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta it is stated that the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinārā lay near the river Hiraṇyavatī. Smith identifies the Hiraṇyavatī with the Gaṇḍak and says that Kuśi-nagara (Kusinārā) was situated in Nepāl, beyond the first range of hills, at the junction of the Little, or Eastern Rāptī with the Gaṇḍak.[4] He, however, adds that the discovery in the large stūpa behind the Nirvāṇa temple near Kasiā of an inscribed copper plate bearing the words "[parini] r vāna-chaitye tāmrapaṭṭa iti,"[5] has revived and supported the old theory, propounded by Wilson and accepted by Cunningham, that the remains near Kasiā (on the Chota Gaṇḍak), in the east of the Gorakhpur District, represent Kuśi-nagara.

Pāvā has been identified by Cunningham[6] with the village named Padaraona, 12 miles to the NNE of Kasiā, and separated from it by the Bādhi Nala (ancient Kukutthā).

[1] Si-yu-ki, Bk. IX.

[2] S.B.E., XVII, p. 101; XI, pp. 1-5.

[3] Kusa Jātaka No. 531 Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, Dialogues of the Buddha Part II, pp. 161-62.

[4] EHI, p. 159 n.

[5] JRAS, 1913, 152.

[6] AGI, 498.

Carlleyle, however, proposes to identify Pāvā with Fāzilpur, 10 miles SE. of Kasiā and separated from it by the Kuku.[1] In the Saṅgīti Suttanta we have a reference to the Mote Hall of the Pāvā Mallas named Ubbhaṭaka.

The Mallas together with the Lichchhavis are classed by Manu as Vrātya Kshatriyas. They, too, like the Lichchhavis, were ardent champions of Buddhism.

Like Videha, Malla had a monarchical constitution at first. The Kusa Jātaka mentions a Malla king named Okkāka (Ikshvāku). The name Okkāka probably indicates that like the Śākyas [2] the Malla kings also belonged to the Ikshvāku family. And this is confirmed by the fact that in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta they are sometimes called Vāseṭṭhas, *i. e.*, "belonging to the Vasishṭha gotra." [3] The Mahāsudassana Sutta mentions another king named Mahāsudassana.[4] These kings, Okkāka and Mahāsudassana, may or may not have been historical individuals. The important thing to remember is that Mallarāṭṭha was at first ruled by kings. This conclusion is confirmed by the evidence of the Mahābhārata (II. 30. 3) which refers to a king of the Mallas. During the monarchical period the metropolis was a great city and was styled Kusāvatī.

Before Bimbisāra's time the monarchy had been replaced by a republic,[5] and the metropolis had sunk to the level of a "little wattel and daub town," a "branch township" surrounded by jungles. It was then styled Kusinārā.

The Mallas had several other important cities, namely Bhoga-nagara,[6] Anupiyā and Uruvelakappa.[7]

[1] Kukutthā ; AGI, 714.

[2] *Cf.* Dialogues, Part I, pp. 114-15.

[3] Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, pp. 162, 179, 181.

[4] S.B.E., XI, p. 248.

[5] *Cf.* S.B.E., XI, p. 102 ; Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, 1919, p. 378.

[6] *Cf.* the Bhogas, *supra*, 84 n. ; Sutta Nipāta, 194 ; Uvāsagadasāo, II, Appendix, p. 57.

[7] Law, Some Kṣatriya Tribes, p. 149. Dialogues, Pt. III (1921), 7.

The relations of the Mallas with the Lichchhavis were sometimes hostile and sometimes friendly. The introductory story of the Bhaddasāla Jātaka (No. 465) contains an account of a conflict between Bandhula the Mallian (Commander-in-chief of the king of Kosala) and 500 kings of the Lichchhavis. The Jaina Kalpasūtra, however, refers to nine Mallakis as having formed a league with nine Lichchhavis, and the eighteen Gaṇarājas of Kāsi-Kosala.[1]

The league was evidently aimed against Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru who, like Philip of Macedon, was trying to absorb the territories of his republican neighbours. The Malla territory was finally annexed to Magadha. It certainly formed a part of the Maurya Empire in the third century B.C.

Chedi was one of the countries encircling the Kurus, parītaḥ Kurūn, and lay near the Jumna.[2] In ancient times it corresponded roughly to the modern Bundelkhand and the adjoining region. In the mediaeval period, however, the southern frontiers of Chedi extended to the banks of the Narmadā (Mekalasutā) :

"Nadīnāṁ Mekala-sutā nripānāṁ Raṇavigrahaḥ
Kavīnāṁcha Surānandaś Chedi-maṇḍala maṇḍanaṁ".[3]

We learn from the Chetiya Jātaka (No. 422) that the metropolis was Sotthivati-nagara. The Mahābhārata calls the capital Śuktimatī (III. 20.50) or Śukti-sāhvaya (XIV. 83.2). As pointed out by Mr. Nundolal Dey, Sotthivati is the same as Śuktimatī.[4] The Great Epic mentions also a river called Śuktimatī which flowed by the capital of Rājā

[1] Nava Mallai nava Lechchhai Kāsi Kosalasya aṭṭhara sa vi gaṇarāyaṇo. Jacobi translates the passage thus :

The eighteen confederate kings of Kāsi and Kosala, the nine Mallakis and nine Lichchhavis.

[2] Mbh., I. 63. 2-58 ; (V. i. 11.

[3] Konow, Karpuramañjarī, p. 182.

[4] Ind. Ant., 1919, p. vii of Geographical Dictionary.

Uparichara of Chedi-vishaya (I. 63. 35). Pargiter identifies the stream with the Ken, and places the city of Śuktimatī in the neighbourhood of Banda.[1] Other towns of note were Sahajāti [2] and Tripurī, the mediaeval capital of the *Janapada*.

The Chedi people are mentioned as early as the Ṛig Veda. Their king Kasu Chaidya is praised in a Dānastuti occurring at the end of one hymn (VIII. 5. 37-39). Rapson proposes to identify him with 'Vasu' of the Epics.

The Chetiya Jātaka gives the following legendary genealogy of Chaidya kings :

Mahāsammata
|
Roja
|
Vararoja
|
Kalyāna
|
Varakalyāna
|
Uposatha
|
Māndhātā
|
Varamāndhātā
|
Chara
|
Upachara or Apachara

The last king, Upachara, had five sons who are said to have founded the cities of Hatthipura, Assapura, Sīhapura, Uttarapañchāla and Daddarapura. This monarch is probably identical with Uparichara Vasu, the Paurava king

[1] JASB, 1895, 255, Mārkaṇḍeya P., p. 359.
[2] Aṅguttara, III. 355.

of Chedi, mentioned in the Mahābhārata (I. 63. 1-2), whose five sons also founded five lines of kings (I. 63. 30). But epic tradition associates the scions of Vasu's family with the cities of Kauśāmbī, Mahodaya and Girivraja.[1]

The Mahābhārata speaks also of other Chedi kings like Damaghosha, his son Śiśupāla Sunītha, and *his* son Dhṛishṭaketu who reigned about the time of the Bhārata war. But the Jātaka and epic accounts of the early kings of Chedi are essentially legendary and, in the absence of more reliable evidence, cannot be accepted as genuine history.

We learn from the Vedabbha Jātaka (No. 48) that the road from Kāsi to Chedi was unsafe being infested with roving bands of marauders.

Vaṁsa or **Vatsa** is the country of which Kauśāmbī, modern Kosam, on the Yamunā, near Allahabad, was the capital. Oldenberg[2] is inclined to identify the Vaṁsas with the Vaśas of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. But the conjecture lacks proof. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa mentions a teacher named Proti Kauśāmbeya[3] whom Harisvāmin, the commentator, considers to be a native of the town of Kauśāmbī. Epic tradition attributes the foundation of this famous city to a Chedi prince.[4] The origin of the Vatsa people, however, is traced to a king of Kāsi.[5] It is stated in the Purāṇas that when the city of Hāstinapura was carried away by the Ganges, Nichakshu, the great-great-grandson of Janamejaya, abandoned it, and removed his residence to Kauśāmbī. We have already seen that the Purāṇic tradition about the Bhārata or Kuru origin of the later kings of Kauśāmbī is confirmed by a play attributed to Bhāsa.

[1] Rāmāyaṇa, I. 32. 6-9; Mahābhārata, I. 63. 30-33.
[2] Buddha, 393 n.
[3] Śat. Br., XII. 2. 2. 13.
[4] Rām., I. 32. 3-6; Mbh., I. 63. 31.
[5] Harivaṁśa, 29. 73; Mbh., XII. 49. 80.

Udayana, king of Kauśāmbī, is described in the Svapnavāsavadatta [1] as a scion of the Bhārata-kula.

The Purāṇas give a list of Nichakshu's successors down to Kshemaka, and cite the following genealogical verse :

> Brahma-kshatrasya yo yonir vaṁśo [2] devarshi satkṛitaḥ
> Kshemakam prāpya rājānaṁ saṁsthāṁ prāpsyati vai kalau.

The earliest king of Kauśāmbī about whom we know anything is Śatānīka II of the Purāṇic list. His father's name was Vasudāna according to the Purāṇas, and Sahasrānīka according to Bhāsa. Śatānīka himself was also styled Parantapa.[3] He married a princess of Videha as his son is called Vaidehīputra. He is said to have attacked Champā, the capital of Aṅga, during the reign of Dadhivāhana.[4] His son and successor was the famous Udayana the contemporary of Bimbisāra.

The *Bhagga* (Bharga) state of Suṁsumāragiri was a dependency of Vatsa.[5] The Mahābhārata (II. 30. 10-11) and the Harivaṁśa (29. 73) testify to the close association of these two realms.

The **Kuru** state was according to Jātaka No. 537 (Mahā-Sutasoma) three hundred leagues in extent. The Jātakas say that the reigning dynasty belonged to the Yuddhiṭṭhila gotta, *i.e.*, the family of Yudhishṭhira.[6] The capital was Indapatta or Indapattana, *i.e.*, Indraprastha or Indrapat near the modern Delhi. It extended

[1] Ed. Ganapati Śāstrī, p. 140.

[2] *Cf. Brahma-Kshatriyānāṁ kula* of the inscriptions of the Sena kings who claimed descent from the Lunar Race to which the Bhāratas and Kurus belonged.

[3] Buddhist India, p. 3.

[4] JASB, 1914, p. 321.

[5] Jātaka No. 353; Carmichael Lec., p. 63.

[6] Dhūmakāri Jātaka, No. 413; Dasa Brāhmaṇa Jātaka, No. 495.

over seven leagues.[1] We hear of a number of *nigamas* or smaller towns besides the capital such as Thullakotthita, Kammāssadamma, and Vāraṇāvata.

The Jātakas mention the following Kuru kings and princes: Dhanañjaya Korabya,[2] Koravya,[3] and Sutasoma.[4] We cannot, however, vouch for the historical existence of these personages in the absence of further evidence.

The Jaina Uttarādhyayana Sūtra mentions a king Ishukāra ruling at the town called Ishukāra in the Kuru country.[5] It seems probable that after the removal of the main royal family to Kauśāmbī, the Kuru realm was parcelled out into small states of which Indapatta and Ishukāra were apparently the most important. Later on the little principalities gave place to a Saṅgha or republic.[6]

Pañchala roughly corresponds to Rohilkhand and a part of the Central Doāb. The Mahābhārata, the Jātakas and the Divyāvadāna (p. 435) refer to the division of this state into northern and southern. The Bhāgirathī (Ganges) formed the dividing line.[7] According to the Great Epic, Northern Pañchāla had its capital at Ahichchhatra or Chhatravatī (the modern Rāmnagar near Aonlā in the Bareilly District), while Southern Pañchāla had its capital at Kāmpilya, and stretched from the Ganges to the Chambal.[8] A great struggle raged in ancient times between the Kurus and the Pañchālas for the possession of Uttara Pañchāla. Sometimes Uttara Pañchāla was included in

[1] Jātaka Nos. 537, 545.

[2] Kurudhamma Jātaka No. 276; Dhūmakāri Jātaka No. 413; Sambhava Jātaka, No. 515; Vidhura-paṇḍita Jātaka, No. 545.

[3] Dasa Brāhmaṇa Jātaka, No. 495; Mahāsutasoma Jātaka No. 537.

[4] Mahāsutasoma Jātaka, *cf.* the Mahābhārata, I. 95. 75 where Sutasoma appears as the name of a son of Bhīma.

[5] S.B.E., XLV. 62.

[6] Arthaśāstra, 1919, 378.

[7] Mbh., I. 138. 70.

[8] Mbh., 138. 73-74.

Kururaṭṭha[1] and had its capital at Hāstinapura,[2] at other times it formed a part of Kampilla-raṭṭha.[3] Sometimes kings of Kampilla-raṭṭha held court at Uttara Pañchāla-nagara, at other times kings of Uttara Pañchāla-raṭṭha held court at Kampilla.[4]

The history of Pañchāla from the death of Pravāhaṇa Jaivala or Jaivali to the time of Bimbisāra of Magadha is obscure. The only king who may perhaps be referred to this period is Durmukha (Dummukha) the contemporary of Nimi,[5] who is probably to be identified with the penultimate sovereign of Mithilā.[6] In the Kumbhakāra Jātaka it is stated that Dummukha's kingdom was styled Uttara Pañchāla-raṭṭha; his capital was not Ahichchhatra but Kampilla-nagara. He is represented as a contemporary of Karaṇḍu, king of Kaliṅga, Naggaji (Nagnajit), king of Gandhāra and Nimi, king of Videha. We learn from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 23) that Durmukha, the Pañchāla king, made extensive conquests. His priest was Bṛihaduktha :

Etaṁ ha vā Aindraṁ Mahābhishekaṁ Bṛihaduktha Ṛishir Durmukhāya Pañchālāya provācha tasmādu Durmukhaḥ Pañchālo Rājā sanvidyayā samantaṁ sarvataḥ prithivīṁ jayan parīyāya.

A great Pañchāla king named Chulani Brahmadatta is mentioned in the Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka (546), the Uttar-ādhyayana Sūtra,[7] the Svapna-vāsavadatta (Act V) and the Rāmāyaṇa (I. 32). In the last-mentioned work he is said to have married the daughters (Kanyāḥ) of

[1] Somanassa Jātaka, No. 505 ; Mahābhārata, I. 138.

[2] Divyāvadāna, p. 435.

[3] Brahmadatta Jātaka, No. 323, Jayaddisa Jātaka, No. 513, and Gaṇḍatindu Jātaka, No. 520.

[4] Kumbhakāra Jātaka, No. 408.

[5] Jātaka, No. 408.

[6] Jātaka, No. 541.

[7] S.B.E., XLV. 57-61.

Kuśanābha who were made hump-backs (Kubja) by the wind-god. In the Jātaka Kevatta, the minister of Brahmadatta, is said to have formed a plan for making Chulani chief king of all India, and the king himself is represented as having laid siege to Mithilā. In the Uttar-ādhyayana Brahmadatta is styled a Universal Monarch. The story of Brahmadatta is, however, essentially legendary, and little reliance can be placed on it. The Rāmāyaṇic legend regarding the king is only important as showing the connection of the early Pañchālas with the foundation of the famous city of Kanyākubja or Kanauj.

The Uttar-ādhyayana Sūtra mentions a king of Kāmpilya named Sañjaya who gave up his kingly power and adopted the faith of the Jinas.[1] We do ot know what happened after Saũjaya gave up his throne.nBut there is reason to believe that the Pañchālas, like the Videhas, Mallas and Kurus, established a Saṅgha form of Government of the Rāja-śabd-opajīvin type.[2]

Matsya had its capital at Virāṭa-nagara or Bairāṭ in the modern Jaipur State.[3]

The early history of the Matsya kingdom has already been related. Its vicissitudes during the centuries which immediately preceded the reign of Bimbisāra of Magadha are not known. It is not included by Kauṭilya among those states which had a Saṅgha form of Government. The probability is that the monarchical constitution endured till the loss of its independence. It was probably at one time annexed to the neighbouring kingdom of Chedi. The Mahābhārata (V. 74. 16) refers to a king named Sahaja who reigned over both the Chedis and the Matsyas. It was

[1] S.B.E., XLV. 80-82.

[2] Arthaśāstra, 1919, p. 378.

[3] Cunn., *AGI*, 1924, 387 f. ; IA, V. 179 ; Carmichael Lec., 1919, p. 53. For a Virāṭa-nagara in South India see Bomb. Gaz., I. 2. 558.

finally absorbed into the Magadhan Empire. Some of the most famous edicts of Aśoka have been found at Bairāṭ.

The Mahābhārata (II. 31. 4) mentions a people called the Apara Matsyas who probably occupied the hill tract on the north bank of the Chambal.[1] The Rāmāyaṇa (II. 71. 5) has a reference to the Vīra Matsyas. From the Dibbida plates[2] we learn that a family of Matsyas settled in the Vizagapatam region in mediæval times. We are told that Jayatsena, the lord of Utkala, gave to Satyamārtaṇḍa of the Matsya family in marriage his daughter Prabhāvatī, and appointed him to rule over the Oḍḍavādi country. After twenty-three generations came Arjuna who ruled in 1269 A.D.

The **Surasena** country had its capital at Mathurā which, like Kauśāmbī, stood on the Yamunā. Neither Śūrasena nor Mathurā finds any mention in the Vedic literature. But the Greek writers refer to the Sourasenoi and their cities Methora and Cleisobora.

In the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas the ruling family of Mathurā is styled the Yadu or Yādava family. The Yādavas were divided into various septs, namely, the Vītihotras, Sātvatas, etc.[3] The Sātvatas were subdivided into several branches, *e.g.*, the Daivāvṛidhas, Andhakas, Mahā-bhojas and Vṛishṇis.[4]

Yadu and his tribe are repeatedly mentioned in the Ṛig Veda. He is closely associated with Turvaśa and in one place (1. 108. 8) with Druhyu, Anu and Pūru. This association is also implied by the epic and Purāṇic legends which state that Yadu and Turvaśu were the sons of the same parents, and Druhyu, Anu and Pūru were their step-brothers.

[1] JASB, 1895, 251.
[2] Ep. Ind., V. 108.
[3] Matsya, 43-44; Vāyu, 94-96.
[4] Vishṇu, IV. 13. 1; Vāyu, 96. 1-2.

We learn from the Ṛig Veda (I. 36. 18; VI. 45. 1) that Yadu and Turvaśa came from a distant land, and the former is brought into very special relation to the Parśus or Persians (VIII. 6. 46).[1] The Sātvatas or Satvats also appear to be mentioned in the Vedic texts. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 21) the defeat by Bharata of the Satvats or Satvants and his taking away the horse which they had prepared for an Aśvamedha, are referred to. The geographical position of Bharata's kingdom is clearly shown by the fact that he made offerings on the Yamunā and the Ganges.[2] The Satvats must have been occupying some adjoining region. The epic and Purāṇic tradition which places them in the Mathurā district is thus amply confirmed. At a later time however, a branch of the Satvats may have migrated southward, for in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 14. 3), the Satvats are described as a southern people ruled by Bhoja kings. In the Purāṇas also we find that a branch of the Satvats was styled Bhoja.[3]

" Bhajina-Bhajamāna-divy-Āndhaka-Devāvṛidha-Mahābhoja-Vṛishṇi-samjñāḥ Sātvatasya putrā babhūvuḥ... ..... Mahā Bhojastvati dharmātmā tasyānvaye Bhojamārtikā vatā babhūvuḥ."

It is further stated that several southern states, Māhismatī, Vidarbha, etc., were founded by princes of Yadu lineage.[4]

Not only the Bhojas, but the Devāvṛidha branch of the Sātvats is also mentioned in the Vedic literature. Babhru Daivāvṛidha[5] is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāh-

[1] Epigraphic evidence points to a close connection between Western Asia and India from about the middle of the second millennium B.C. Ṛig Vedic Gods like Sūrya (Shurias), Marut (Maruttash), Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, the Nāsatyas, and even Daksha (dakash, star, CAH. I. 553) figure in the records of the Kassites and the Mitanni.

[2] Ait. Br., VIII. 23; Mbh., VII. 66. 8.

[3] Vishṇu, IV. 13. 1-6. [4] Mat., p. 43, 10-29; 44, 36; Vāyu, 94. 26; 95. 35.

[5] Vāyu, 96. 15; Vishṇu, 13. 3-5.

maṇa (VII. 34) as a contemporary of Bhīma, king of Vidarbhā and of Nagnajit, king of Gandhāra. The Andhakas and Vṛishṇis are referred to in the Ashṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini (I V. 1, 114; VI. 2. 34). In Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (p. 12) the Vṛishṇis are described as a Saṅgha, *i.e.*, a republican corporation. The Mahābhārata, too, refers to the Vṛishṇis, Andhakas and other associate tribes as a Saṅgha (XII. 81. 25), and Vāsudeva as a Saṅgha-mukhya. The name of the Vṛishṇi corporation has been preserved by a unique coin.[1] It is stated in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas that Kaṁsa, like Peisistratus and others of Greek history, tried to make himself tyrant at Mathurā by overpowering the Yādavas, and that Kṛishṇa, a scion of the Vṛishṇi family, killed him. The slaying of Kaṁsa by Kṛishṇa is referred to by Patañjali and the Ghata Jātaka (No. 454). The latter work confirms the Hindu tradition about the association of Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva's family with Mathurā ("Uttara Madhurā").[2]

[1] Majumdar, Corporate Life in Ancient India, p. 119.

[2] The question of the historical existence of Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva has been discussed in my *Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect*, pp. 26-35, and my *Political History of Ancient India*, 1st ed., 1923, p. 312.

Several scholars reject the identification of Kṛishṇa of the Mahābhārata with the historical Kṛishṇa of the Chhāndogya Upanishad (III. 17). But we should remember that—

(*a*) Both the Kṛishṇas have the metronymic Devakīputra.

(*b*) The teacher of the Upanishadic Kṛishṇa belonged to a family (Āṅgirasa) closely associated with the Bhojas (Ṛig Veda, III. 53. 7), the kindreds of the Epic Kṛishṇa (Mbh., II. 14. 32-34).

(*c*) The Upanishadic Kṛishṇa and his Guru Ghora Āṅgirasa were worshippers of Sūrya. We are told in the Sāntiparva (335. 19) that the Sātvata-vidhi taught by the Epic Kṛishṇa was "Prāk-Sūrya-mukha-niḥsṛita."

(*d*) An Āṅgirasa was the Guru of the Upanishadic Kṛishṇa. Āṅgirasī Śruti is quoted as "Śrutīnāmuttamā Śrutiḥ" by the Epic Kṛishṇa (Mbh., VIII. 69. 85).

(*e*) The Upanishadic Kṛishṇa is taught the worship of the Sun, the noblest of all lights (Jyotir-uttamamiti), high above all darkness (tamasaspari), and also the virtues of "Tapodānam ārjjavam ahiṁsā satyavachanam." The Epic Kṛishṇa teaches practically the same thing in the Gītā (XIII. 18—Jyotishāmapi tajjyotis tamasaḥ param uchyate; XVI. 1-2—Dānam damaścha yajñascha svādhyāyam tapa ārjjavam ahiṁsā satyam).

The final overthrow of the Vṛishṇis is ascribed to their irreverent conduct towards Brāhmaṇas.[1] It is interesting to note in this connection, that the Vṛishṇis and the Andhakas are branded as Vrātyas in the Droṇa Parva of the Mahābhārata (141. 15). It is a remarkable fact that the Vṛishṇi-Andhakas and other Vrātya clans, *e.g.*, the Lichchhavis and Mallas, are found in historical times on the southern and eastern fringe of the "Dhruvā Madhyamā diś" occupied by the Kuru-Pañchālas. It is not improbable that they represent an earlier swarm of Aryans who were pushed southwards and eastwards by the Pūru-Bharatas, the progenitors of the Kuru-Pañchālas. It may be remembered in this connection that the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa actually refers to the defeat by Bharata of the Satvats—the progenitors of the Vṛishṇi-Andhakas. And the Great Epic refers to the exodus of the Yādavas from Mathurā owing to pressure from the Paurava line of Magadha, and probably also from the Kurus.[2]

The Buddhist texts refer to Avantiputta, king of the Śūrasenas in the time of Mahā Kachchāna[3] who was the first among the chief disciples of Śākyamuni through whose agency Buddhism gained ground in the Mathurā region. A king of Śūrasena named Kuvinda is mentioned in the Kāvya-Mīmāṁsā. The Śūrasenas continued to be a notable people up to the time of Megasthenes. But at that time they must have formed an integral part of the Maurya Empire.

Assaka was situated on the banks of the Godhāvarī.[4] The name of the territory represents the Sanskrit

[1] Mahābhārata, Maushala Parva, I. 15-22; 2. 10; Arthaśāstra, p. 12; Jātaka IV, pp. 55-56, p. 138.

[2] *Cf.* Bahu-Kuruchara Mathurā, Patañjali IV. 1. 1 GEI., p. 395 n.

[3] M. 2. 83.

[4] Sutta Nipāta, 977.

Aśmaka, identified by the commentator Bhaṭṭasvāmin with Mahārāshṭra. The Aśmakas are mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. I. 173). As the grammarian refers to Dākshiṇātya (IV. 2. 98) and Kaliṅga (IV. I. 178) his Aśmaka may be Assaka in the Deccan. It may, however, also denote the Aśmakas in North-West India referred to by the Greek writers as the Assakenoi.

The capital of Assaka was Potana or Potali,[1] the Paudanya of the Mahābhārata (1. 177. 47). Prof. Bhandarkar points out[2] that in early Pāli literature Assaka has, on the one hand, been distinguished from Mūlaka which lay to its north, and on the other from Kaliṅga. He suggests that in later times Assaka seems to have included Mūlaka, and also perhaps Kaliṅga. In the Sona-Nanda Jātaka we find Assaka associated with Avanti; this association can only be explained if we surmise that Assaka included at that time Mūlaka and thus its territory abutted on Avanti.

In the Vāyu Purāṇa (88. 177-178) Aśmaka and Mūlaka appear as scions of the Ikshvāku family, and the Mahābhārata speaks of "Aśmako nāma Rājarshiḥ Paudanyaṁ yo nyaveśayat." This probably indicates that the Aśmaka and Mūlaka kingdoms were believed to have been founded by Ikshvāku chiefs, just as Vidarbha and Daṇḍaka were founded by princes of the Yadu (Bhoja) family. The Mahāgovinda Suttanta mentions Brahmadatta king of the Assakas who was a contemporary of Sattabhu king of Kaliṅga, Vessabhu king of Avanti, Bharata king of Sovīra, Reṇu king of Videha, Dhataraṭṭha king of Aṅga and Dhataraṭṭha king of Kāsi.[3]

We learn from the Assaka Jātaka (No. 207) that at one time the city of Potali was included in the kingdom

[1] Chulla-Kāliṅga Jātaka, No. 301; D. 2. 235.
[2] Carm. Lec., pp. 53-54.
[3] Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, p. 270.

of Kāsi, and its prince, Assaka, was presumably a vassal of the Kāsi monarch. The Chulla Kāliṅga Jātaka mentions a king of Assaka named Aruṇa and his minister Nandisena, and refers to a victory which they won over the king of Kaliṅga.

Avanti roughly corresponds to central Mālwā, Nimār and the adjoining parts of the Central Provinces. Prof. Bhandarkar points out that this *Janapada* was divided into two parts : the northern part had its capital at Ujjain and the southern part called Avanti Dakshiṇāpatha had its capital at Māhissatī or Māhiśmatī, usually identified with the modern Māndhātā on the Narmadā.[1]

Buddhist and Jain writers mention two other cities of Avanti named Kuraraghara and Sudarśanapura.[2]

The Mahāgovinda Suttanta mentions Māhissatī as the capital of the Avantis, and refers to their king Vessabhu. The Mahābhārata, however, distinguishes between the kingdoms of Avanti and Māhiśmatī, but locates Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti near the Narmadā.[3]

The Purāṇas attribute the foundation of Māhiśmatī, Avanti, and Vidarbha to scions of the Yadu family. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa also associates the Satvats and the Bhojas, septs of the Yadu family according to the Purāṇas, with the southern realms.[4]

The Purāṇas style the first dynasty of Māhiśmatī as Haihaya.[5] This family is referred to by such an ancient authority as Kauṭilya.[6] The Haihayas are said to have

[1] There is one difficulty in the way of accepting this identification. Māndhātā lay to the south of the Pāriyātra Mts. (W. Vindhyas), whereas Māhiśmatī lay between the Vindhya and the Ṛiksha—to the north of the Vindhya and to the south of the Ṛiksha, acc. to the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha (Harivaṁśa, 11. 38. 7-19).

[2] Law, Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes, p. 158; Kathākoça, 18.

[3] Narmadāmabhitaḥ, Mbh., II. 31. 10.

[4] Matsya, 43-44; Vāyu, 95-96; Ait. Br., VIII. 14.

[5] Matsya, 43. 8-29; Vāyu, 94. 5-26.

[6] Arthaśāstra, p. 11.

overthrown the Nāgas who must have been the aboriginal inhabitants of the Narmadā region (*cf.* Nāgpur). The Matsya Purāṇa mentions five branches of the Haihayas, namely Vītihotras, Bhojas, Avantis, Kuṇḍikeras or Tuṇḍikeras and the Tālajaṅghas (43. 48-49). When the Vītihotras and Avantis passed away, a minister named Pulika (Puṇika) is said to have killed his master and anointed his own son Pradyota by force in the very sight of the Kshatriyas. In the fourth century B.C., Avanti formed an integral part of the Magadhan Empire.

The kingdom of **Gandhāra**, according to Jātaka No. 406, included Kāśmīr as well as the Takshaśilā region. The evidence of the Jātaka appears to be confirmed by that of Hekataios of Miletos (B.C. 549-486) who refers to Kaspapyros (Kaśyapa-pura, *i.e.*, Kaśmir—*cf.* Rāja-taraṅgini, I. 27) as a Gandaric city. Takshaśilā, the capital city, lay 2,000 leagues from Benares.[1]

The Purāṇas represent the Gandhāra kings as the descendants of Druhyu.[2] This king and his people are mentioned several times in the Ṛig Veda. In the Vedic Index (1. 385) it is stated that "from the tribal grouping it is probable that the Druhyus were a north-western people." Thus the Purāṇic tradition about the connection of the Gandhāras with the Druhyus accords with Vedic evidence.

Takshaśilā is mentioned in the Mahābhārata in connection with the story of king Janamejaya by whom it had been conquered. In the time of Nimi king of Videha, of Durmukha king of Pañchāla, and of Bhīma king of Vidarbha, the throne of Gandhāra was occupied by Naggaji or Nagnajit.[3] We learn from the Kumbhakāra Jātaka that

[1] Telapatta Jātaka, No. 96 ; Susīma Jātaka, No. 163.

[2] Matsya, 48. 6 ; Vāyu, 99. 9.

[3] Kumbhakāra Jātaka ; Ait. Br., VII. 34 ; Śat. Br., VIII. 1. 4. 10.

A Nagnajit also appears in the Mahābhārata as the Gandhārian contemporary of Kṛishṇa (V. 48. 75). But the same epic mentions Śakuni as the King of Gandhāra in the time of Kṛishṇa and the Pāṇḍavas.

his capital was Takshaśilā. The Jaina Uttarādhyayana Sūtra mentions "Dvimukha" of Pañchāla, Namī of Videha, "Naggati" of Gandhāra, and "Karakaṇḍu" of Kaliṅga, and says that "these bulls of kings have adopted the faith of the Jainas."[1] As Pārśva (777 B.C.?) was probably the first historical Jina, Naggati or Nagnajit is probably to be placed between 777 B. C. and 543 B.C., the date of Pukkusāti, the Gandhārian contemporary of Bimbisāra. We do not, however, say that implicit reliance can be placed on a statement of the Uttarādhyayana.

Nagnajit was succeeded by his son Svarjit.[2] In the middle of the sixth century B.C. the throne of Gandhāra was occupied by Pukkusāti who is said to have sent an embassy and a letter to king Bimbisāra of Magadha, and waged war on Pradyota of Avanti who was defeated.[3] He is also said to have been threatened in his own kingdom by the Pāṇḍavas who occupied a part of the Pañjāb as late as the time of Ptolemy. In the latter half of the sixth century Gandhāra was conquered by the king of Persia. In the Behistun inscription of Darius, *cir.* 516 B.C., the Gandhārians (Gadara) appear among the subject peoples of the Achaemenidan Empire.[4]

Kamboja is constantly associated with Gandhāra in literature and inscriptions.[5] Like Gandhāra it is included in the Uttarāpatha.[6] It should, therefore, be clearly distinguished from "Kamvuja" in the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula (*i.e.*, Cambodia),[7] and must be located in some

[1] S.B.E., XLV. 87.

[2] Śat. Br., VIII. 1. 4. 10.

[3] Essay on Guṇāḍhya, p, 176.

[4] See "Ancient Persian Lexicon and the Texts of the Achaemenidan Inscriptions" by Herbert Cushing Tolman, Vanderbilt Oriental Series, Vol. VI.

[5] Mbh., XII. 207. 43; Aṅguttara N., I. 213; 4. 252, 256, 260; Rock Edict V of Aśoka.

[6] *Cf.* Mbh., XII. 207. 43.

[7] For the Hindu colony of "Kamvuja" see Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, III, p. 100 ff.

part of North-West India not far from Gandhāra. We learn from a passage of the Mahābhārata that a place called Rājapura was the home of the Kambojas (Mbh., VII. 4.5, "Karṇa Rājapuraṁ gatvā Kāmbojā nirjitā-stvayā"). The association of the Kambojas with the Gandhāras enables us to identify this Rājapura with the Rājapura of Hiuen Tsang[1] which lay to the south or south-east of Punch. The western boundaries of Kamboja must have reached Kāfiristān, and there are still in that district tribes like the 'Caumojee,' 'Camoze,' and 'Camoje' whose names remind us of the Kambojas.[2]

Kamboja may have been a home of Brāhmaṇic learning in the later Vedic period. The Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa actually mentions a teacher named Kamboja Aupamanyava. The presence of Āryas (Ayyo) in Kamboja is recognised in the Majjhima Nikāya II, 149. But already in the time of Yāska the Kambojas had come to be regarded as a people distinct from the Aryans of the interior of India, speaking a different dialect. We have further changes in later ages. And in the Bhūridatta Jātaka (No. 543) the Kambojas are credited with savage (Non-Aryan) customs :

ete hi dhammā anariyarūpā
Kambojakānaṁ vitathā bahunnaṁ ti.[3]

These are your savage customs which I hate,
Such as Kamboja hordes might emulate.[4]

This description of the Kambojas agrees wonderfully with Hiuen Tsang's account of Rājapura and the adjoining countries. "From Lampa to Rājapura the

[1] Watters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. I, p. 284.

[2] Elphinstone, An Account of the Kingdom of Kābul, Vol. II, pp. 375-377 ; JRAS., 1843, 140.

[3] Jātaka , VI, 208.

[4] Cowell's Jātaka, VI, 110.

inhabitants are coarse and plain in personal appearance, of rude violent dispositions...they do not belong to India proper, but are inferior peoples of frontier, (*i.e.*, barbarian) stocks." [1]

We have seen that the metropolis of the Kambojas in the Epic period was probably Rājapura. Dvāraka mentioned by Rhys Davids as the capital in the early Buddhist period, was perhaps not really a city of Kamboja,[2] though it happens to be mentioned in a story which also refers to Kamboja. A real city of the Kambojas was apparently Nandi-nagara mentioned in Lüders' Inscriptions 176 and 472.

The Vedic texts do not mention any king of Kamboja. But, as already pointed out, they refer to a teacher named Kamboja Aupamanyava who was probably connected with this territory. In the Mahābhārata the Kambojas are represented as living under a monarchical constitution. [3] The Epic makes mention of the Kamboja Kings Chandravarman and Sudakshiṇa. In later times the monarchy gave place to a Saṅgha form of government. Kauṭilya (p. 378) mentions the Kambojas as an illustration of a "Vārtā-śastr-opajīvin" Saṅgha.

[1] For the Kambojas see also S. Lévi: "Pré-Aryen et Pré-Dravidien dans l. Indo," J. A., 1923.

[2] *Cf.* Law: "The Buddhist Conception of Spirits," pp. 80-83.

[3] *Cf.* I. 67. 32; II. 4. 22; V. 165. 1-3, etc.

The Epic Account of the Mahājanapadas.

An interesting account of the characteristics of the peoples of most of the Mahājanapadas described above is to be found in the Karṇa Parva of the Mahābhārata.

The Pañchālas, Kurus, Matsyas, Śūrasenas and the Chedis receive unstinted praise :

Kuravaḥ saha Pañchālāḥ Śālvā Matsyāḥ sa Naimishāḥ
Chedayaścha mahābhāgā dharmaṁ jānanti śāśvatam
Brāhmaṁ Pañchālāḥ Kauraveyāstu dharmaṁ
Satyaṁ Matsyāḥ Śūrasenāścha yajñam.

"The Kauravas with the Pañchālas, the Śālvas, the Matsyas, the Naimishas and the Chedis who are all highly blessed, know what the eternal religion is.

The Pañchālas observe the Vedas, the Kauravas observe Dharma, the Matsyas observe the truth, and the Śūrasenas perform sacrifices." [1]

The Magadhas are called comprehenders of signs; while the Kosalas are represented as comprehending from what they see :

Iṅgitajñāścha Magadhāḥ prekshitajñāścha Kośalāḥ.[1]

The Aṅgas and the Gandhāras come in for a good deal of condemnation :

Āturāṇāṁ parityāga sadāra-suta-vikrayaḥ
Aṅgeshu vartate Karṇa yeshām adhipatir bhavān.

"The abandonment of the afflicted and the sale of wives and children are, O Karṇa, prevalent among the Aṅgas whose king thou art."

[1] Mahābhārata, VIII, 45, 14-16 ; 28 ; 34.

Madrakeshu cha saṁsṛishṭaṁ śauchaṁ Gāndhārakeshucha,
Rāja-yājaka-yājyecha nashṭaṁ dattaṁ havir bhavet.

"Amongst the Madrakas all acts of friendship are lost as purity among the Gāndhārakas, and the libations poured in a sacrifice in which the king is himself the sacrificer and priest." [1]

The verses quoted above give a fair idea of the attitude of a poet of the western part of the Madhyadeśa towards most of the Mahājanapadas of Northern India.

---

[1] *Ibid*, 45, 40; 40, 29.

The Fall of Kāsi and the Ascendancy of Kosala.

Kosalonāma muditaḥ sphīto janapadomahān
—Rāmāyaṇa.

The flourishing period of many of the sixteen Mahā-janapadas ended in or about the sixth century B.C. The history of the succeeding period is the story of the absorption of the states into a number of powerful kingdoms, and ultimately into one empire, namely the empire of Magadha.

Kāsi was probably the first to fall. The Mahāvagga and the Jātakas refer to bitter struggles between Kāsi and her neighbours, specially Kosala. The facts of the struggle are obscure, being wrapped up in legendary matter from which it is impossible to disentangle them. The Kāsis seem to have been successful at first, but the Kosalas were the gainers in the end.

In the Mahāvagga [1] and the Kosambī Jātaka (No. 428) it is stated that Brahmadatta, king of Kāsi, robbed Dīghati, king of Kosala, of his kingdom, and put him to death. In the Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536) it is stated that Brahmadatta, king of Kāsi, owing to his having an army, seized on the kingdom of Kosala, slew its king, and carried off his chief queen to Benares, and there made her his consort. The Brahāchatta Jātaka (No. 336) and the Sona-Nanda Jātaka (No. 532) also refer to the victories of Kāsi kings over Kosala.

Success, however, did not remain long with the Kāsis.[2] In the Mahāsīlava Jātaka (No. 51) king Mahāsīlava of

[1] S.B.E., XVII, 294-99.

[2] *Cf.* Jātaka No. 100.

Kāsi is said to have been deprived of his realm by the king of Kosala. In the Ghata Jātaka (No. 355) and the Ekarāja Jātaka (No. 303), Vaṅka and Dabbasena, kings of Kosala, are said to have won for their kingdom a decided preponderance over Kāsi. The final conquest of the latter kingdom was probably the work of Kaṁsa, as the epithet "Barānasiggaho," *i.e.*, conqueror of Benares, is a standing addition to his name.[1] The interval of time between Kaṁsa's conquest of Kāsi and the rise of Buddhism could not have been very long because the memory of Kāsi as an independent kingdom was still fresh in the minds of the people in Buddha's time, and even later when the Aṅguttara Nikāya was composed.

In the time of Mahākosala (sixth century B. C.) Kāsi formed an integral part of the Kosalan monarchy. When Mahākosala married his daughter, the lady Kosalādevī, to king Bimbisāra of Magadha, he gave a village of Kāsi producing a revenue of a hundred thousand for bath and perfume money.[2]

In the time of Mahākosala's son and successor Pasenadi or Prasenajit, Kāsi still formed a part of the Kosalan Empire. In the Lohichcha Sutta[3] Buddha asks a person named Lohichcha the following questions: "Now what think you Lohichcha? Is not king Pasenadi of Kosala in possession of Kāsi and Kosala?" Lohichcha replies, "Yes, that is so, Gotama." We learn from the Mahāvagga[4] that the Viceroy of Kāsi was a brother of Pasenadi.

The Samyukta Nikāya[5] mentions Pasenadi as the head of a group of five Rājās. One of these was probably his

[1] The Seyya Jātaka, No. 282, and the Tesakuna Jātaka, No. 521; Buddhist India, p. 25.

[2] Harita Māta Jātaka, No. 239; Vaḍḍhaki Sūkara Jātaka, No. 283.

[3] Dialogues of the Buddha, Part I, 288-97.

[4] S.B.E., XVII, 195.

[5] The Book of the Kindred Sayings, translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids, p. 106.

brother who was the Viceroy of Kāsi. Among the remaining Rājās we should perhaps include Prince Pāyāsi of Setavyā mentioned in the Pāyāsi Suttanta, and Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya who, as we have seen, was a contemporary of Sukeśā Bhāradvāja and Āśvalāyana, and consequently of Buddha and Pasenadi, if our identification of Āśvalāyana Kausalya with Assalāyana of Sāvatthi mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya be correct.

Another Rājā of the group was probably the Śākya chief of Kapilavastu. From the introductory portion of the Bhaddasāla Jātaka (No. 465) we learn that the Śākya territory was subordinate to the Kosalan monarch.[1] The inclusion of the Śākya territory, the birthplace of Buddha, within the Kosalan empire is also proved by the Sutta Nipāta[2] and the Majjhima Nikāya[3] which describe Buddha and his people as Kosalans.

It was probably during the reign of Mahākosala, that Bimbisāra ascended the throne of Magadha. The Mahāvaṁsa[4] tells us that "The virtuous Bimbisāra was fifteen years old when he was anointed king by his own father." With the coronation of Bimbisāra ends the period with which this chapter deals.

[1] *Cf.* Dialogues, part iii, p. 80.
[2] S.B.E., X, Part II, pp. 68-69.
[3] Vol. II, p. 124.
[4] Geiger's Translation, p. 12.

Kingship.

We have given the outlines of the political history of India from the accession of Parikshit to the coronation of Bimbisāra. We have seen that during the major part of this period the prevailing form of Government was monarchical. No political history of this age is complete unless we know something about the rank, power and status of the monarchs in the different parts of India, their caste, the methods of their selection and consecration, the chief members of their households, and their civil and military services, and the checks on their authority.

The different **kinds of rulership** prevalent in different parts of India are thus described in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.[1]

> Etasyāṁ Prāchyāṁ diśi ye ke cha Prāchyānāṁ rājānaḥ Sāmrājyāyaiva te'bhishichyante Samrāl-ityenān-abhishiktān-āchakshata etāmeva Devānāṁ vihitimanu.
>
> Etasyāṁ Dakshiṇāyāṁ diśi ye ke cha Satvatāṁ Rājāno Bhaujyāyaiva te'bhishichyante Bhoj-etyenān-abhishiktān-āchakshata etāmeva Devānāṁ vihitimanu.
>
> Etasyāṁ Pratīchyāṁ diśi ye ke cha Nīchyānāṁ Rājāno ye'pāchyānāṁ Svārājyāyaiva te'bhishichyante Svarāl-ityenān-ąbhishiktān-āchakshata etāmeva Devānāṁ vihitimanu.
>
> Etasyāṁ Udīchyām diśi ye ke cha pareṇa Himavantaṁ Janapadā Uttara Kurava Uttara Madrā iti Vairājyāyaiva te' bhishichyante Virāl-ityenān abhishiktān-āchakshata etāmeva Devānāṁ vihitimanu.
>
> Etasyāṁ dhruvāyāṁ Madhyamāyāṁ pratishṭhāyāṁ diśi ye ke cha Kuru-Pañchālānāṁ Rājānaḥ sa Vaś-Ośinarāṇāṁ Rājyāyaiva te'bhishichyante Rāj-etyenān-abhishiktān āchakshata etāmeva Devānāṁ vihitimanu.

[1] VIII, 14.

Several scholars assert that *Vairājya* means a kingless state. But in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[1] a king consecrated with Indra's great unction is called Virāṭ and worthy of Vairājya. When a king consecrated with the Punarabhisheka ascends his Āsandī or throne, he prays for attaining Vairājya as well as other kinds of royal dignity. Sāyaṇa takes the word Vairājyaṁ to mean "itarebhyo bhupatibhyo vaiśishṭyam." It is also stated in the Śukranīti[2] that the Virāṭ was a superior kind of monarch. In the Mahābhārata (XII. 43. 11) Kṛishṇa is called Samrāṭ, Virāṭ, Svarāṭ and Sura-rāja.[3] Dr. Keith translates the passage "Etasyāṁ Udīchyāṁ," etc., thus: "In this northern quarter, the lands of the Uttara Kurus and the Uttara Madras, beyond the Himavant, their (kings) are anointed for sovereignty; 'O sovereign' they style them when anointed in accordance with the action of the gods."

It is not easy to decide whether all the terms Sāmrājya, Bhaujya, Svārājya, Vairājya and Rājya referred to essentially different forms of royal authority in the Brāhmaṇic period. But two terms at least, namely, *Sāmrājya* and *Rājya* are clearly distinguished by the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[4] and also the Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.[5]

Rājā vai Rājasūyeneshṭvā bhavati, Samrāḍ Vājapeyenāvaraṁhi Rājyaṁ paraṁ Sāmrājyaṁ kāmayeta vai Rājā Samrāḍ bhavitum avaraṁhi rājyaṁ param Sāṁrājyaṁ.[6]

"By offering the Rājasūya he becomes Rājā and by the Vājapeya he becomes Samrāj; and the office of Rājan is the lower and that of Samrāj the higher; a Rājan might indeed wish to become Samrāj, for the office of Rājan is the lower and that of Samrāj the higher; but the Samrāj

[1] VIII. 17.
[2] B. K. Sarkar's translation, p. 24.
[3] *Cf.* XII. 68. 54.
[4] V. 1. 1. 13.
[5] XV. 1. 1. 2.
[6] Śat. Br., V. 1. 1. 13.

would not wish to become a Rājā for the office of Rājan is the lower, and that of Samrāj the higher.''[1]

If the Purāṇas are to be believed *Bhoja* was originally a proper name. But afterwards it came to denote a class of southern kings. The word Cæsar furnishes an exact parallel. Originally it was the name of a Roman dictator. But afterwards it was a title assumed by Roman Emperors.

In some Vedic texts[1] *Svārājya* means uncontrolled dominion, and is opposed to Rājya.[2]

The king was usually, though not always, a Kshatriya. The Brāhmaṇas were considered to be unsuited for kingship. Thus we read in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa "to the king (Rājan) doubtless belongs the Rājasūya ; for by offering the Rājasūya he becomes king, and unsuited for kingship is the Brāhmaṇa.''[3]

We have, however, references to Śūdra and Āyogava kings in the Vedic texts. King Janaśruti Pautrāyaṇa is called a Śudra in the Chhāndogya Upanishad.[4] King Marutta Āvikshita is styled "Āyogava'' in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[5] Āyogava denotes a member of a mixed caste, a descendant of a Śūdra by a Vaiśya wife.[6] The Jātakas refer to kings of several castes including Brāhmaṇas.[7]

Kingship was sometimes **hereditary,** as is indeed shown by several cases where the descent can be traced (*cf.* the Pārikshitas and the kings of Janaka's line ; *cf.* also the expression Daśapurushaṁrājya—a kingdom of ten generations occurring in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XII. 9. 3. 3), yet in others the monarchy was **elective.** The selec-

[1] Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā, XIV. 5 ; Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā, 1. 11. 5, etc.
[2] Vedic Index, II. 221.
[3] SBE, XLI ; Eggeling, Śat. Br., Part III, p. 4.
[4] IV. 2. 1-5.
[5] XIII. 5. 4. 6.
[6] Manu-saṁhitā, X. 12.
[7] *Cf.* Jātakas 73, 432.

tion was made sometimes by the people and sometimes by the ministers. The choice was sometimes limited to the members of the royal family only, as is shown by the legend in Yāska[1] of the Kuru brothers Devāpi and Śaṁtanu. In the Saṁvara Jātaka (No. 462) the courtiers of a king asked the latter "when you are dead, my lord, to whom shall we give the white umbrella?" "Friends," said the king, "all my sons have a right to the white umbrella. But you may give it to him that pleases your mind."

Sometimes the popular choice fell on persons who did not belong to the royal family. It is stated in the Pādañjali Jātaka, No. 247, that when a certain king of Benares died, his son Pādañjali by name, an idle lazy loafer, was set aside, and the minister in charge of things spiritual and temporal was raised to the throne. The Sachchaṁkira Jātaka, No. 73, tells a story how the nobles, Brāhmaṇas and all classes slew their king and anointed a private citizen. Sometimes an outsider was chosen. The Darīmukha Jātaka, No. 378, the Dasaṇṇaka Jātaka (401) and the Sonaka Jātaka, No. 529, tell us how on failure of heir at Benares a prince of Magadha was elected king.

The king during the Brāhmaṇa period was usually allowed to have **four queens**, *viz.*, the Mahishī, the Parivṛiktī, the Vāvātā, and the Pālāgalī. The Mahishī was the chief wife, being the first one married according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[2] The Parivṛiktī was the neglected wife, probably one that had no son. The Vāvātā is the favourite, while the Pālāgalī was the daughter of the last of the court officials.[3] The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 13), how-

[1] Nirukta, II. 10; Ved. Ind. II., 211.
[2] VI. 5. 3. 1; Ved. Ind., I, 478.
[3] Weber and Pischel in Vedic Index, I. 478.

ever, refers to the "hundred" wives of king Hariśchandra. In the Jātaka period several kings kept a bigger harem. We are told in the Kusa Jātaka, No. 531, that king Okkāko had sixteen thousand wives among whom Sīlavatī was the chief (aggamahesī). The king of Benares according to the Dasaratha Jātaka, No. 461, had an equal number of wives. In the Suruchi Jātaka, No. 489, a king of Mithilā says, "Ours is a great kingdom, the city of Mithilā covers seven leagues, the measure of the whole kingdom is 300 leagues. Such a king should have sixteen thousand women at the least." Sixteen thousand appears to have been a stock phrase. The number is evidently exaggerated. But it indicates that the kings of the Jātaka period were extreme polygamists who frequently exceeded the Brāhmaṇic number of four or even a hundred queens.

The king was consecrated after his succession or election with an elaborate **ritual** which is described in several Brāhmaṇas, and for which the Mantras are given in the Saṁhitās. Those who aided in the consecration of the king were called *Rājakartṛi*, or *Rājakṛit*, *i.e.*, "king-maker." In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa the persons meant and specified are the Sūta (minstrel and chronicler or charioteer), and the Grāmaṇī, village chief. Prof. Rādhākumud Mookerji observes,[1] "It is apparent from the lists of persons aiding in the royal coronation that both official and non-official or popular elements were represented in the function." The principal ceremonies or **sacrifices of royal inauguration** were the Vājapeya, the Rājasūya, the Punar-abhisheka and the Aindra Mahābhisheka.

The Vājapeya bestowed on the performer a superior kind of kingship called "Sāmrājya," while the Rājasūya

[1] The Fundamental Unity of India, p. 83.

merely conferred the ordinary royal dignity.[1] The Punarabhisheka made the king elect eligible for all sorts of royal dignity, *viz.*, Rājya, Sāmrājya, Bhaujya, Svārājya, Vairājya, Pārameshṭhya, Māhārājya, Ādhipatya, Svāvaśya and Ātishṭhatva.[2] The object of the Aindra Mahābhisheka is thus descrided :

"Sa ya ichchhed evaṁvit Kshatriyam ayaṁ sarvā jitīrjayetāyaṁ sarvāṁllokān vindetāyaṁ, sarveshāṁ Rājñāṁ Śraishṭhyam, Atishṭhāṁ, Paramatāṃ gachchheta, Sāmrājyaṁ, Bhaujyaṁ, Svārājyaṁ, Vairājyaṁ, Pārameshṭhyaṁ, Rājyaṁ, Māhārājyaṁ, Ādhipatyaṁ ayaṁ samantaparyāyī syāt Sārvabhaumaḥ sārvāyusha ā'ntādā parārddhāt Pṛithivyai Samudraparyantāyā **Ekarāl** iti tametena Aindreṇa Mahābhishekeṇa kshatriyaṁ śāpayitvā'bhishiñched."[3]

"If he who knows thus should desire of a kshatriya, 'May he win all victories, find all the worlds, attain the superiority, pre-eminence and supremacy over all kings and overlordship, paramount rule, self-rule, sovereignty, supreme authority, kingship, great kingship and suzerainty, may he be all-encompassing, possessed of all the earth, possessed of all life, from the one end up to the further side of the earth bounded by the ocean, sole ruler' ; he should anoint him with the great anointing of Indra, after adjuring him" (Keith).

The **Vājapeya** rites include a race of 17 chariots, in which the sacrificer is allowed to carry off the palm, and from which, according to Eggeling the ceremony perhaps derives its name. Professor Hillebrandt would claim for this feature of the sacrifice the character of a relic of an

[1] Rājya, *cf.* Śat. Br., V. I. 1. 13; some texts, however, make the Rājasūya appropriate for a universal monarch (Keith, The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, 340 ; Mahābhārata, Bk. II).

[2] Ait. Br., VIII. 6.

[3] Ait. Br., VIII. 15.

old national festival, a kind of Indian Olympic games. After the chariot race the next interesting item is the mounting of a chariot wheel,[1] which is placed on the top of a long pole, by the sacrificer and his wife, from which homage is made to the mother earth. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa says, "Truly he who gains a seat in the air gains a seat above others."[2] The royal sacrificer having descended from the pole, is offered a throne-seat with a goatskin spread thereon and addressed by the Adhvaryu in the following words: "Thou art the ruler, the ruling lord—thou art firm and steadfast—(here I seat) thee for the tilling, for peaceful dwelling, for wealth, for prosperity, *i.e.*, for the welfare of the people, the common weal."[3]

The **Rājasuya** consisted of a long succession of sacrificial performances which began on the 1st of Phālguna [4] and spread over a period of upwards of two years.[5] The rite is described at great length in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[6] Besides much mere priestly elaboration, the ritual contains traces of popular ceremonial.[7] The popular features are chiefly these :—

(1) The Ratnināṁ havīṁshi or offerings to the chief queen and court officials;

(2) the Dig Vyāsthāpana or the king's mounting on the quarters as an indication of his universal rule;

(3) a mimic cow raid against a relative; [8] or a show fight with a Rājanya; [9]

1 "A wheel-shaped garland of meal" (Keith, R. P. V. U, 339).
2 Śat. Br., V. 2. 1. 22.
3 Śat. Br., V. 2. 1. 25 : The Fundamental Unity of India, p. 80.
4 Keith, Black Yajus, pp. cxi-cxiii.
5 SBE., XLI, p. xxvi.
6 V. 2. 3 (*et seq.*).
7 Ved. Ind., II. 219.
8 Śat. Br., V. 4. 3. 1 *et seq.*
9 *Cf.* Taittiriya Saṁhitā, 1. 8. 15 with commentary; SBE. XLI, 100, n.1.

(4) a game of dice in which the king is made to be the victor;[1]

(5) stepping on a tiger skin, thus gaining the strength and the pre-eminence of the tiger;

(6) the Abhishechanīya or besprinkling and

(7) narration of the Ākhyāna of Śunaḥśepa.

The recipients of the "Ratninām havīṁshī" were the **Ratnins**, *i. e.*, the chief members of the royal household and of the king's civil and military service : *viz.*—

1. The Senānī (Commander-in-chief).
2. The Purohita (Royal Chaplain).
3. The Mahishī (Chief Queen).
4. The Sūta (Charioteer).[2]
5. The Grāmaṇī (Village Headman).
6. The Kshattṛi (Chamberlain)—forerunner of the Antarvaṁśika of later times.[3]
7. The Saṁgrahītṛi (Treasurer)—forerunner of the Sannidhātṛi.
8. The Bhāgadugha (Collector-General)—forerunner of the Samāhartṛi.
9. The Akshāvāpa (Keeper of the Dice).[4]
10. The Go-vikartana (King's Companion in the chase).
11. The Pālāgala (Courier)—forerunner of the Dūta (Śāsanahara, etc.).

The most essential part of the Rājasūya was the **Abhisheka** or besprinkling. It began with offerings to Savitā Satyaprasava, Agni Gṛihapati, Soma Vanaspati, Bṛihaspati Vāk, Indra Jyeshṭha, Rudra Paśupati, Mitra

[1] Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 342.

[2] The importance of this office is shown by the cases of Sumantra and of Saṁjaya who is called a Mahāmātra (Mbh., XV. 16. 4).

[3] Vidura was the Kshattri (Mbh., I. 200. 17 ; II. 66. 1, etc.) at the Kuru Court.

[4] *Cf.* the position of Kaṅka (Yudhishṭhira) at the Matsya Court.

Satya and Varuṇa Dharmapati. The consecration water (Abhishechanīyā Āpaḥ) was made up of seventeen kinds of liquid including the water of the Sarasvatī, sea-water, and water from a whirlpool, a pond, a well and dew. The sprinkling was performed by a Brāhmaṇa, a kinsman or brother of the king elect, a friendly Rājanya and a Vaiśya.

The two most important kinds of Abhisheka were the Punar-abhisheka and the Aindra Mahābhisheka.

The **Punar-abhisheka** or Renewed Anointment is described in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 5-11. It was intended for Kshatriya conquering monarchs. The first interesting part of the ceremony was the king's ascent to the throne or Āsandī which was made of Udumbara wood with the exception of the interwoven part (Vivayana) which consisted of Muñja grass. Then came the besprinkling. Among other things the priest said "Rājñāṁ tvam Adhirājo bhaveha; Mahāntaṁ tvā mahīnāṁ Samrājaṁ charshaṇīnāṁ."[1] The king was next required to get down from the throne and make obeisance to the Brāhmaṇas: "Brāhmaṇa eva tat Kshatraṁ vaśam eti tad yatra vai Brahmaṇaḥ Kshatraṁ vaśam eti tad rāshṭraṁ samṛiddhaṁ tadvīravadā hāsmin vīro jāyate."[2] Here there is ample provision for the prevention of royal absolutism.

Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit, was evidently consecrated with the Punar-abhisheka.[3]

The **Aindra Mahābhisheka** or Indra's great unction consisted of five important ceremonies, *viz.*:—

1. **Oath** taken by the king to the priest: "From the night of my birth to that of my death, for the space between these two, my sacrifice and my gifts, my place,

[1] Ait. Br., VIII. 7. [2] Ait. Br., VIII. 9. [3] Ait. Br., VIII. 11.

my good deeds, my life and mine offspring mayest thou take, if I play thee false '' (Keith).

2. Ārohaṇa (Ascending the throne).

3. Utkrośana (Proclamation).

4. Abhimantraṇa (repetition of special formulas or Mantras).

5. Anointing.

The following kings are said to have been consecrated with the Aindra Mahābhisheka : Janamejaya, Śāryāta, Śatānīka, Āmbāshṭhya, Yudhāmśraushṭi, Viśvakarmā, Sudās, Marutta, Aṅga and Bharata.[1] The first-mentioned king, and probably the third, fourth, fifth and ninth also, belonged to the post-Parikshit period.[2]

Powerful kings and princes performed another important sacrifice called the **Aśvamedha**. The Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra (XX. i. 1) says that a Sārvabhauma Rājā may perform the Aśvamedha. The Aśva or steed for a year roamed under guardianship of a hundred princes, a hundred nobles, a hundred sons of heralds and charioteers and a hundred sons of attendants. If the year were successfully passed the steed was sacrificed. The features of the rite included the panegyric of the king by a Kshatriya and a Brāhmaṇa lute-player, and a cyclic Ākhyāna.[3] Among the kings and princes who performed the Aśvamedha were Janamejaya, his brothers Bhīmasena, Ugrasena, Śrutasena, and Para Āṭṇāra, king of Kosala.

1 Ait. Br., VIII. 21-23.

2 Śatānīka defeated Dhṛitarāshṭra of Kāśi who, according to the Mahāgovinda Suttanta, was a contemporary of Sattabhu of Kaliṅga and of Brahmadatta of Assaka. As the Deccan kingdoms are not referred to in pre-Pārikshita works, it is probable that Śatānīka and his contemporaries flourished after Parikshit. Āmbāshṭhya and Yudhāmśraushṭi were contemporaries of Parvata and Nārada who were very near in time to Nagnajit, the contemporary of Nimi, probably the penultimate king of Videha. Aṅga was probably the immediate predecessor of Dadhivāhana who, according to Jaina evidence, flourished in the 6th century B.C.

3 Keith, Black Yajus, pp. cxxxii f.

Kingship during the Pārikshita-Janaka period was not merely a "Patriarchal Presidency." The monarch was not merely a "chief noble," "the first among equals," "President of a Council of Peers." In several Vedic texts he is represented as the master of his people. He claimed the power of giving his kingdom away to anybody he liked, and taxing the people as much as he liked. In the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad Janaka says to Yājñavalkya, "So'haṃ Bhagavate Videhān dadāmi māñchāpi saha dāsyāyeti."[1] The king is called "Viśvasya bhūtasya adhipati" and is further described as the devourer of the people—Viśāmattā.[2] "Rājā ta ekaṁ mukhaṁ tena mukhena Viśo'tsi."[3]

The king, however, was **not an absolute despot** in practice. His power was checked, in the first place, by the Brāhmaṇas. We have seen that the most powerful sovereigns, even those who were consecrated with the Punarabhisheka, had to descend from the throne and make obeisance to the Brāhmaṇas who formed the higher educated community of those days. We learn from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 27) and Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra[4] that even a powerful king like Janamejaya was humbled by the Brāhmaṇas. The Vṛishṇis perished on account of their irreverent conduct towards Brāhmaṇas. This shows that not only the kings, but the republican corporations (Saṅgha), too, had to cultivate friendly relations with the Brāhmaṇas.

The second check was supplied by the ministers and village headmen who aided in the consecration of the king and whom the king consulted regularly. In the Vedic texts the Sūta and the Grāmaṇī are styled Rājakartṛi or Rājakṛit, *i.e.*, "**King-maker.**"[5] The very title indicates their

[1] Bṛih. Up., IV. 4. 23.
[2] Ait. Br., VIII. 17.
[3] Kaush. Up., II. 6.
[4] Ed. 1919, p. 11.
[5] Sat. Br., III. 4. 1. 7; XIII. 2. 2. 18.

importance in the body politic. They, as well as the other *ratnins*, figure prominently in the sacrifice of royal inauguration.

The claim of the ministers and village headmen to be consulted was certainly recognised by the kings down to the time of Bimbisāra. The Mahāvagga says,[1] "King Brahmadatta of Kāsi, O Bhikkhus, having entered Benares, convoked his ministers and counsellors (Amacce Pārisajje sannipātā petvā) and said to them : 'If you should see, my good sirs, young Dīghāvu, the son of king Dīghīti of Kosala, what would you do to him?'" The Mahā assāroha Jātaka (No. 302) refers to a king who by beat of drum through the city gathered together his councillors. In the Mahāvagga we find the following passage :[2] "Now when Seṇiya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, was holding an assembly of the eighty thousand Grāmikas he sent message to Soṇa Koḷivisa." The Chulla-Sutasoma Jātaka also refers to the eighty thousand councillors of a king headed by his general. These were asked to elect a king.[3] The king-making power of the councillors is recognised also in the Pādañjali and Sonaka Jātakas.

Another check was supplied by the general body of the people (Janāḥ) who were distinct from the ministers and Grāmaṇīs or Grāmikas, and who used to meet in an assembly styled **Samiti** or **Parishad** in the Upanishads. In the Utkrośana passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 17) the people (Janāḥ) are clearly distinguished from the Rājakartāraḥ among whom, according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[4] were included the Sūta and the Grāmaṇī. That the Samiti or Parishad was an assembly of the Janāḥ, *i.e.*, the whole people, is apparent from such expressions as "Pañchālānāṁ Samitim eyāya," "Pañchālānāṁ

[1] SBE., XVII. 304. Cowell's Jātaka, V, p. 97.
[2] SBE., XVII, p. 1.
[4] III. 4. 1. 7; XIII. 2. 2. 18.

Parishadam ājagāma." The Chhāndogya Upanishad (V. 3. 1) mentions the Samiti of the Pañchāla people presided over by king Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, " Śvetaketur h Āruṇeyaḥ Pañchālānāṁ Samitim eyāya; taṁ ha Pravāhaṇo Jaivalir uvācha." The Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad (VI. 2. 1) uses the term Parishad instead of Samiti " Svetaketur havā Āruṇeyaḥ Pañchālānāṁ Parishadamājagāma." The analogy of the Lichchhavi Parishā mentioned in Buddhist works shows that the functions of the Pañchāla Parishad were not necessarily confined to philosophical discussions only. The people took part in the ceremony of royal inauguration.[1] The Dummedha Jātaka (No. 50) refers to a joint assembly of ministers, Brāhmaṇas, the gentry, and the other orders of the people.

That the people actually put a curb on royal absolutism is proved by the testimony of the Atharva Veda (VI. 88. 3) where it is stated that concord between king and assembly was essential for the former's prosperity. We have evidence that the people sometimes expelled and even executed their princes together with unpopular officials. Thus it is stated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,[2] " Now Dushṭarītu Pauṁsāyana had been expelled from the kingdom which had come to him through ten generations, and the Sṛiñjayas also expelled Revottaras Pāṭava Chākra Sthapati."[3] The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 10) refers to personages who were expelled from their rāshṭras and who were anxious to recover them with the help of the Kshatriya consecrated with the Punarabhisheka. Such persons were the Indian counterparts of the French " emigrants " who sought to reclaim revolutionary France with the help of the troops of the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns.[4] We learn from the

[1] Ait. Br., VIII. 17.

[2] XII. 9. 3. 1 *et seq.*; Eggeling, V. 269.

[3] For the designation '*Sthapati*,' see Camb. Hist. Ind., 131; Fleet, CII, 120n.

[4] *Cf.* Lodge, Modern Europe, p. 517.

Vessantara Jātaka that the king of Sivi was compelled to banish prince Vessantara in obedience to "the people's sentence."

The king was told :

The bidding of the Sivi folk if you refuse to do
The people then will act, methinks, against your son and you.

The king replied :

Behold the people's will, and I that will do not gainsay.

The Padakusalamāṇava Jātaka (No. 432) tells a story how the town and the countryfolk of a kingdom assembled, beat the king and priest to death as they were guilty of theft, and anointed a good man as king. A similar story is told in the Sachchaṁkira Jātaka (No. 73). We are told in the Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka that the people of one kingdom killed the minister, deposed the king, made him an outcast and anointed a prince as king. The ex-king was not allowed to enter into the capital city. Prof. Bhandarkar points out that in the Telapatta Jātaka a king of Takshaśilā says that he has no power over the subjects of his kingdom. This is in striking contrast with the utterance of Janaka quoted above ("Bhagavate Videhān daḍāmi," etc.). Evidently the royal power had declined appreciably, at least in the north-west, since the days of Janaka.

The more important **attributes of kingship** are referred to in the "Utkrośana" passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 17). The monarch is there described as "Viśvasya bhūtasya adhipati," *i.e.*, sovereign lord of all beings, "Viśāmattā," *i.e.*, devourer of the people, "Amitrāṇāṁ hantā," *i.e.*, destroyer of enemies, "Brāh-

maṇānāṁ goptā," *i.e.*, protector of the Brāhmaṇas, and "Dharmasya goptā," *i.e.*, protector of the laws.

In the expressions quoted above we have reference to the king's sovereignty and imperium, his power of taxation, his military functions, his relations with the hierarchy, and his judicial duties.

not been able to accept the current views with regard to the history and chronology of several dynasties, notably of the Early Śātavāhanas, the Greeks of Śākala, and the Śaka-Pahlavas of the Uttarāpatha.

In my account of the Gupta period I have made use of the mass of fresh materials accumulated since the publication of the works of Fleet, Smith and Allan. The relations of Samudra Gupta with the Vākāṭakas have been discussed, and an attempt has been made to present a connected history of the Later Guptas.[1]

---

[1] The Chapter on the Later Guptas was published in the JASB., 1920.

The Rise of Magadha

Sarvamūrddhābhishiktānāmesha mūrddhni jvalishyati
prabhāharo'yam sarveshām jyotishāmiva bhāskaraḥ
enamāsādyarājānaḥ samṛiddha-ba'avāhanāḥ
Vināśamupayāsyanti śalabhā iva pāvakam.

—*Mahābhārata*, II.19.10-11.

I. The Age of Bimbisāra

Under the vigorous kings of the race of Bimbisāra and Nanda, Magadha played the same part in ancient Indian history which Wessex played in the annals of Pre-Norman England, and Prussia in the history of modern Germany. It was about the middle of the sixth century B. C., that Bimbisāra or Śreṇika of the **Haryanka-kula** (called also Seṇiya Bimbisāra), son of Bhaṭṭiya, the real founder of the Magadhan imperial power, mounted his ancestral throne. The Mahāvaṁsa[1] tells us that "the virtuous Bimbisāra was fifteen years old when he was anointed king by his own father...two and fifty years he reigned." We learn from the Sutta Nipāta[2] that the Magadhan capital was at this time at Rājagaha or Rājagṛiha, "the Giribbaja in Magadha."

The early Buddhist texts throw a flood of light on the political condition of India in the time of Bimbisāra. There were, as Prof. Rhys Davids observes, "besides a still surviving number of small aristocratic republics four kingdoms of considerable extent and power." In addition to these there were a number of smaller kingdoms, and some non-Aryan principalities. The most important amongst the **republics** were the Vajjians of Vaiśālî and the Mallas of

[1] Geiger's translation, p. 12.
[2] SBE., X. II. 67.

Kusinārā (Kuśīnagara) and Pāvā.[1] An account of both these peoples has already been given. Among the smaller republics Rhys Davids mentions the Śākyas of Kapilavastu,[2] the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, the Bhaggas of Suṁsumāra Hill, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Kālāmas of Kesaputta, and the Moriyas of Pipphalivana.

The **Śākyas** were settled in the territory bordered on the north by the Himālayas, on the east by the river Rohiṇī,[3] and on the west and south by the Rāptī.[4] They claimed to belong to the solar (Āditya) race and Ikshvāku family, and, as we have already seen, acknowledged the suzerainty of the king of Kosala. The **Koliyas** were their eastern neighbours. The introductory portion of the Kunāla Jātaka says that the Śākya and Koliya tribes had the river Rohiṇī, which flows between Kapilavastu and the capital of the Koliyas, confined by a single dam and by means of it cultivated their crops. "Once upon a time in the month Jetthamūla when the crops began to flag and droop, the labourers from amongst the dwellers of both cities assembled together." Then followed a scramble for water. From the mutual recriminations which ensued we learn that the Śākyas had the custom of marrying their own sisters. In the Tīrthajātrā section of the Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata[5] mention is made of a place called Kapilāvaṭa. It is not altogether improbable that we have here a Brāhmaṇical reference to the capital of the Śākyas.

The **Bhaggas** (Bhargas) are known to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 28) and the Ashṭādhyāyī (IV. I.111, 177).

[1] Twelve miles from Kusinārā (Cunningham, AGI., old ed., p. 434). Between Pāvā and Kusinārā there was a stream called Kukutthā, the Cacouthes of the Classical writers.

[2] Piprāwā in the north of the Basti district, or Tilaura Kōṭ in the Tarāi (Smith, EHI., p. 159). For the institutions of the city, see Bud. Ind., p. 19.

[3] A tributary of the Rāptī (Oldenberg, Buddha, p. 96).

[4] Rapson, Ancient India, p. 161; Oldenberg, Buddha, pp. 95-96.

[5] III. 84. 31.

The former work refers to the Bhārgāyaṇa prince Kairiśi Sutvan. In the sixth century B.C., the Bhagga state was a dependency of the Vatsa kingdom; for we learn from the preface to the Dhonasākha Jātaka, No. 353, that prince Bodhi, the son of Udayana, king of the Vatsas, dwelt in Suṁsumāragiri and built a palace called Kokanada. The Mahābhārata and the Harivaṁśa also testify to the close connection between the Vatsas and the Bhargas (Bhaggas) :

" Vatsabhūmiñcha Kaunteyo vijigye balavān balāt
Bhargānāmadhipañchaiva Nishādādhipatiṁ tathā." [1]

" Pratardanasya putrau dvau Vatsa-Bhargau babhuvatuḥ." [2]

Regarding the **Bulis** and the **Kālāmas** we know very little. The Dhammapada commentary [3] refers to the Buli territory as the kingdom of Allakappa, and says that it was 10 leagues in extent. From the story of its king's intimate relationship with king Veṭhadīpaka it may be presumed that Allakappa lay not far from Veṭhadīpa, the native land of the Brāhmaṇa Droṇa, which stood on the way from Masār in the Shāhābād District to Vaiśālī.[4] The Kālāmas were the clan of the philosopher Ālāra.[5] The name of their capital, Kesaputta, reminds us of the Kesins, a people mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa [6] and probably also in the Ashṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini,[7] and connected with the Pañchālas and Dālbhyas who appear in the Ṛig Veda, V. 61, as settled on the banks of the Gomatī.[8]

The **Moriyas** were undoubtedly the same clan which

1 Mbh., II. 30. 10-11.
2 Hariv., 29. 73.
3 Harvard Oriental Series 28. p. 247.
4 Si-yu-ki, Bk. VII.
5 Buddhacharita, XII. 2.
6 Ved. Ind., Vol. I, p 186.
7 VI. 4. 165.
8 The Aṅguttara (I. 188) seems to place Kesaputta in Kosala.

gave Magadha its greatest dynasty.[1] Pipphalivana, the Moriya capital, is apparently identical with the Nyagrodhavana or Banyan Grove, mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, where stood the famous Embers Tope.[2] Fa Hien tells us that the Tope lay 12 Yojanas (54 miles?) to the west of Kusinārā.[3]

Among the **smaller kingdoms** may be mentioned Gandhāra ruled by Pukkusāti, Roruka (in Sauvīra or the Lower Indus Valley) governed by Rudrāyaṇa,[4] Surasena ruled by Subāhu Avantiputta, and Aṅga under the sway of Brahmadatta.

The most famous amongst the **non-Aryan principalities** was the realm of the Yakkha **Alavaka**.[5] This little state was situated near the Ganges and was probably identical with the Chanchu territory visited by Hiuen Tsang. Cunningham and Smith identify the country with the Ghāzipur region.[6] It had Ālavī[7] for its capital. This city seems to be identical with the town of Ālabhiyā mentioned in the Uvāsagadasāo.[8] Near it there was a large forest.[9] According to Hoernle the name of the kingdom represents the Sanskrit Aṭavī which means a forest. The same scholar points out that in the Abhidhānappadīpikā Ālavī is mentioned in a list of twenty names of cities including Bārāṇasī, Sāvatthi, Vesālī, Mīthilā, Ālavī, Kosambhī, Ujjenī, Takkasīlā, Champā, Sāgala, Suṁsumāragira, Rājagaha, Kapilavatthu, Sāketa, Inda-

1 "Then did the Brāhmaṇa Cāṇakka anoint a glorious youth, known by the name Candagutta, as king over all Jambudipa, born of a noble clan, the Moriyas," Geiger, Mahāvaṁsa, p. 27.

2 Rhys Davids, Buddhist Suttas, p. 135; Watters, Yuan Chwang, II, pp. 23-24; Cunningham, AGI., old ed., pp. 429, 433.

3 *Legge, Fa Hien*, p. 79. Watters, I, 141. *Cf.* JRAS., 1903, 368.

4 Divyāvadāna, p. 545.

5 Sutta Nipāta, SBE., X. II. 29-30.

6 Watters, Yuan Chwang, II, pp. 61, 340.

7 Sutta Nipāta; the Book of the Kindred Sayings, p. 275.

8 II, p. 103; Appendix, pp. 51-53.

9 *Cf.* The Book of the Kindred Sayings, p. 160.

paṭṭa, Ukkattha,[1] Pāṭaliputtaka, Jettuttara,[2] Samkassa and Kusinārā. The Chullavagga (VI. 17) mentions the Aggālava shrine at Ālavī. In the Uvāsagadasāo the king of Ālabhiyā is named Jiyasattū (Jitaśatru). But Jiyasattū seems to have been a common designation of kings like the epithet Devānampiya of a later age. The name is given also to the rulers of Sāvatthī, Kampilla, Mithilā, Champā, Vāṇiyagāma, Bārāṇasī and Polasapura.[3] Buddhist writers refer to other Yakkha principalities besides Ālavaka.[4]

The most important factors in the political history of the period were, however, neither the republics nor the Yakkha principalities, but the **four great Kingdoms** of Kosala, Vatsa, Avanti and Magadha.[5]

In **Kosala** king Mahākosala had been succeeded by his son Pasenadi or Prasenajit. The new king preserved unimpaired the extensive heritage received from his father, and ruled Kāsi and Kosala. He also exercised suzerainty over the Śākya territory. We have already seen that the Samyutta Nikāya refers to him as the head of a group of five Rājāṣ, " on one occasion when the Exalted One was at Sāvatthi, five Rājās, the Pasenadi being the chief among them, were indulging in various forms of amusements."

In her interesting article " Sage and King in Kosala-Samyutta," Mrs. Rhys Davids admirably sums up the character of Pasenadi, " He is shown combining like so many of his class all the world over, a proneness to affairs of sex with the virtues and affection of a good ' family

[1] A town in the Kingdom of Kosala (Dialogues of the Buddha, I. 108).

[2] Near Chitor (N. L. Dey).

[3] *Cf.* Hoernle, Uvāsagadasāo, II, pp. 6, 64, 100, 103, 106, 118, 166.

[4] *Cf.* Sutta Nipāta, SBE., Vol. X, II, p. 45.

[5] Ruled, according to the Tibetans, by Prasenajit, son of Brahmadatta (Mahākosala), Udayana, son of Śatānika, Pradyota son of Anantanemi (Puṇika or Puṇaka), and Bimbisāra son of Mahāpadma (Bhaṭṭiya) respectively (Essay on Guṇāḍhya, p. 173).

man,' indulgence at the table with an equally natural wish to keep in good physical form, a sense of honour and honesty, shown in his disgust at legal cheating, with a greed for acquiring wealth and war indemnities, and a fussiness over lost property, a magnanimity towards a conquered foe with a callousness over sacrificial slaughter and the punishment of criminals. Characteristic also is both his superstitious nervousness over the sinister significance of dreams due, in reality, to disordered appetites, and also his shrewd, politic care to be on good terms with all religious orders, whether he had testimonials to their genuineness or not.'' [1]

We learn from the Ambaṭṭha and Lohichcha Suttas [2] that Pasenadi was a patron of the Brāhmaṇas, and gave them spots on royal domains with power over them as if they were kings. He was also a friend of the Buddha and his followers, and made monasteries for their habitation.[3]

He had many queens, *e.g.*, Mallikā daughter of the chief of garland-makers in Sāvatthi, and Vāsabha Khattiyā born to a Śākya named Mahānāman from a slave woman. He had a daughter called Vajirā or Vajīrī Kumārī,[4] and a son named Viḍūḍabha whose mother was Vāsabha Khattiyā. Prince Viḍūḍabha at first appears to have served as his father's Senāpati or General.[5] Afterwards he succeeded to the throne and perpetrated a ferocious massacre of the Śākyas.

Hoernle in the Uvāsagadasāo[6] refers to Mṛigadhara, who is said to have been the first minister of Prasenajit

[1] Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 134.
[2] Dialogues of the Buddha, I, pp. 108, 288.
[3] Gagga Jātaka, No. 155. [4] Majjhima, II, p. 110.
[5] For the employment of princes as Senāpati see Kauṭilya (Mysore editon, 1919) p. 34.
[6] II, Appendix, p. 56.

or Pasenadi. Prof. Bhandarkar refers to another minister called Siri-Vaddha. Another important official was Dīgha Chārāyaṇa.[1] He is probably identical with Dīrgha Chārāyaṇa mentioned by Kauṭilya as an author of a treatise on kingly duties,[2] and by Vātsyāyana as an author of the science of Erotics. His uncle Bandhula was a general.

The Buddhist texts throw some light on the foreign and internal affairs of Pasenadi's reign. The Majjhima Nikāya (II, pp. 101) tells us that the Kosalan monarch was on friendly terms with Seṇiya Bimbisāra and the Visālikā Lichchhavī. But he was much troubled by robbers like Aṅgulimāla. We read in the Mahāvagga[3] that certain Bikkhus travelling on the road from Sāketa to Sāvatthi were killed by robbers. Then the king's soldiers came and caught some of the ruffians. In another passage (p. 261) of the Mahāvagga it is stated that a residence of the Bikkhus in the Kosala country was menaced by savages.

In the **Vatsa** kingdom king Śatānīka Parantapa was succeeded by his son Udayana who is the hero of many Indian legends.[4] The commentary of the Dhammapada gives the story of the way in which Vāsuladattā or Vāsavadattā, the daughter of Pradyota, king of Avanti, became his wife. It also mentions two other queens of the Vatsa king, *viz.*, Māgandiyā, daughter of a Kuru Brāhmaṇa, and Sāmāvatī. The Svapna-Vāsavadatta attributed to Bhāsa mentions another queen named Padmāvatī who is represented as sister to king Darśaka of Magadha. The Priyadarśikā speaks of Udayana's marriage with the daughter

1 Majjhima N., II, p. 118.

2 *Cf.* Nītivijita Chārāyaṇaḥ, Ep. Indica, III, p. 210.

3 S.B.E., XIII, p. 220.

4 For a detailed account of the legends see "Essay on Guṇāḍhya and the Bṛihatkathā" by Prof. Félix Lacôte, translated by the Rev. A. M. Tabard. See also Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, 1920-21, Gune, "Pradyota, Udayana, and Śreṇika—A Jaina Legend."

of Dṛiḍhavarman, king of Aṅga. The Ratnāvalī tells the story of the love of the king of Vatsa and of Sāgarikā, an attendant of his queen Vāsavadattā. Stories about Udayana were widely current in Avanti in the time of Kālidāsa (*cf.* Meghadūta, "prāpy-Āvantim Udayana-kathā-kovida grāma-vṛiddhān"). The Jātakas throw some sidelight on the character of this king. In the preface to the Mātaṅga Jātaka it is related that in a fit of drunken rage he had Piṇḍola tortured by having a nest of ants tied to him. The Kathā-sarit-sāgara of Somadeva, a writer of the eleventh century A. D., contains a long account of Udayana's *Digvijaya*.[1] The Priyadarśikā of Śrīharsha (Act IV) speaks of the king's victory over the lord of Kaliṅga, and the restoration of his father-in-law Dṛiḍhavarman to the throne of Aṅga. It is difficult to disentangle the kernel of historical truth from the husk of popular fables. It seems that Udayana was a great king who really made some conquests, and contracted matrimonial alliances with the royal houses of Avanti, Aṅga and Magadha.

The throne of **Avanti** was at this time occupied by Chaṇḍa Pradyota Mahāsena who had three sons named Gopālaka, Pālaka and Kumārasena, and a daughter named Vāsavadattā, the chief queen of Udayana. Regarding the character of Pradyota the Mahāvagga says that he was cruel.[2] The Purāṇas tell us that he was "nayavarjita," *i.e.*, destitute of good policy. The same authorities observe that "he will indeed have the neighbouring kings subject to him —sa vai pranata sāmantaḥ." That he was a king feared by his neighbours is apparent from a statement of the Majjhima Nikāya (III. 7) that Ajātaśatru, son of Bimbisāra, fortified Rājagṛiha because he was afraid of an invasion of his territories by Pradyota.

[1] Tawney's Translation, Vol. I, pp. 143 ff.
[2] SBE., XVII, p. 187.

Magadha, as we have already seen, was ruled by Bimbisāra himself. He maintained friendly relations with his northern and western neighbours. He received an embassy and a letter from Pukkusāti, the king of Gandhāra. When Pradyota was suffering from jaundice the Magadhan king sent the physician Jīvaka. He contracted matrimonial alliances with the ruling families of Madra, Kosala [1] and Vaiśālī. These marriages were of great importance for the history of Magadha. They paved the way for the expansion of Magadha both westward and northward. Bimbisāra's Kosalan wife brought a Kāsi village producing a revenue of a hundred thousand for bath and perfume money.[2] According to the Thusa Jātaka,[3] and the Mushika Jātaka [4] the Kosalan princess was the mother of Ajātaśatru. The preface to the Jātakas says, " At the time of his (Ajātaśatru's) conception there arose in his mother, the daughter of the king of Kosala, a chronic longing to drink blood from the right knee of king Bimbisāra." In the Samyukta Nikāya[5] Pasenadi of Kosala calls Ajātaśatru his nephew. On page 38 of the Book of the Kindred Sayings, however, Maddā (Madrā) appears as the name of Ajātaśatru's mother. The Jaina writers, on the other hand, represent Chellaṇā, daughter of Cheṭaka of Vaiśālī, as the mother of Kuṇika-Ajātaśatru. The Nikāyas call Ajātaśatru Vedehiputta. This seems to confirm the Jaina tradition because Vaiśālī was situated in Videha. Buddhaghosha, however, resolves " Vedehi " into Veda-Iha, Vedena Ihati or intellectual effort.[6] In this connection we should remember that even Kosalan monarchs

[1] According to the Dhammapada commentary (Harvard, 29,60; 30,225) Bimbisāra and Pasenadi were connected by marriage, each having married a sister of the other. Bimbisāra's chief consort was Khemā.

[2] Jātaka Nos. 239, 283, 492.

[3] No. 338.

[4] No. 373.

[5] The Book of the Kindred Sayings, p. 110.

[6] The Book of the Kindred Sayings, p. 109n.

had sometimes the epithet Vaideha.[1] It is difficult to come to a final decision with regard to the parentage of the mother of Ajātaśatru from the data at our disposal.

Disarming the hostility of his powerful western and northern neighbours by his shrewd policy, Bimbisāra could devote his undivided attention to the struggle with Aṅga which he annexed after defeating Brahmadatta.[2] The annexation of Aṅga by Bimbisāra is proved by the evidence of the Mahāvagga [3] and of the Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya in which it is stated that the revenues of the town of Champā have been bestowed by King Bimbisāra on the Brāhmaṇa Soṇadaṇḍa. We learn from Jaina sources [4] that Aṅga was governed as a separate province under a Magadhan prince with Champā as its capital. Thus by war and policy Bimbisāra added Aṅga and a part of Kāsi to the Magadhan dominions, and launched Magadha in that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when Aśoka sheathed his sword after the conquest of Kaliṅga. We learn from the Mahāvagga that Bimbisāra's dominions embraced 80,000 townships, the overseers (Gāmikas) of which used to meet in a great assembly.

The victories of Bimbisāra's reign were probably due in large measure to the vigour and efficiency of his administration. We are informed by the Chullavagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka (VII. 3.5) that he exercised a rigid control over his High Officers, dismissing those who advised him badly and rewarding those whose advice he approved of. The Highest Officers (Mahāmātras) were divided into three classes, *viz.*, (1) Sabbatthaka (the officer in charge of

[1] *Cf.* Vedic Index, Vol. I, pp. 190, 491 ; Para Âṭṇāra is called both Vaideha and Kausalya.

[2] JASB., 1914, p. 321.

[3] SBE., XVII, p. 1.

[4] Hemachandra, the author of the Sthavirāvalī ; *cf.* also the Bhagavatī Sūtra and the Nirayāvalī Sūtra.

general affairs, (2) Vohārika Mahāmattas (judges) and (3) Senā-nāyaka Mahāmattas (generals).

The Vinaya texts afford us a glimpse into the activities of these Mahāmattas (Mahāmātras), and the rough and ready justice meted out to criminals. Thus we have reference not only to imprisonment in jails (kārā), but also to punishment by scourging, branding, beheading, tearing out the tongue, breaking ribs, etc. Information regarding activities of a different kind is given by the Chinese pilgrims. Hiuen Tsang, for instance, refers to Bimbisāra's road and causeway, and says that when Kusāgārapura or Kuśāgrapura [1] (old Rājagṛiha) was afflicted by fires the king went to the cemetery and built the new city of Rājagṛiha. Fa Hien, however, gives the credit for the foundation of New Rājagṛiha to Ajātaśatru.

Bimbisāra had many sons, namely, Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru (Aśokachandra of the Kathākoça), Halla and Vehalla (born from queen Chellaṇā), Abhaya (born from queen Nandā), Sīlavat, Vimala-Koṇḍañña, and Kālaga. Ajātaśatru seems to have acted as his father's Viceroy at Champā.[2] He is said to have killed his father and seized the entire kingdom. Dr. Smith regards the story of the murder as 'the product of *odium theologicum*,' and shows excessive scepticism in regard to the evidence of the Pāli canon and chronicles. But the general credibility of these works has been maintained by scholars like Rhys Davids and Geiger whose conclusions seem to be confirmed in many respects by the testimony of independent classical and Jaina writers.

II. Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru.

The reign of Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru was the high water mark of the power of the Bimbisārian (Haryaṅka) dynasty.

[1] Probably named after the early Magadhan King Kuśāgra (AIHT., 149).

[2] Bhagavatī Sūtra, Nirayāvali Sūtra, Pariśishṭaparvan and the Kathākoça, p. 178.

The Aupapātika Sūtra applies to him the title Devānupiya (I.A. 1881, 108). He not only humbled Kosala and permanently annexed Kāsi, but also absorbed the state of Vaiśālī. The traditional account of his **duel with Kosala** is given in the Samyutta Nikāya [1] and the Haritamāta, Vaḍḍhaki-Sūkara, Kummā Sapiṇḍa, Tachchha Sūkara and the Bhaddasāla Jātakas. It is said that after Ajātaśatru murdered Bimbisāra, his father, the queen Kosalā Devī died of love for him. "Even after her death Ajātaśatru still enjoyed the revenues of the Kāsi village which had been given to the lady Kosalā for bath money. But Pasenadi, the king of Kosala, determined that no parricide should have a village which was his by right of inheritance and made war upon Ajātaśatru. Sometimes the uncle got the best of it, and sometimes the nephew. On one occasion the Kosalan monarch fled away in defeat; on another occasion he took Ajātaśatru prisoner. His daughter Vajirā he gave in marriage to his captive nephew and dismissed her with the Kāsi village for her bath money." It is stated in the Bhaddasāla Jātaka that during Pasenadi's absence in a country town, Dīgha Chārāyaṇa, the Commander-in-Chief, raised prince Viḍuḍabha to the throne. The ex-king set out for Rājagaha, resolved to take his nephew (Ajātaśatru) with him and capture Viḍūḍabha. But he died from exposure outside the gates of Rājagaha.

The traditional account of Ajātaśatru-Kūṇika's **war with Vaiśālī** is given by Jaina writers. King Seṇiya Bimbisāra is said to have given his famous elephant Seyanaga (Sechanaka), together with a huge necklace of eighteen strings of jewels, to his younger sons Halla and Vehalla born from his wife Chellaṇā, the daughter of King Cheṭaka of Vaiśālī. His eldest son Kūṇiya

[1] The Book of the Kindred Sayings, pp. 109-110.

(Ajātaśatru) after usurping his father's throne, on the instigation of his wife Paūmāvaī (Padmāvatī) demanded from his younger brothers the return of both gifts. On the latter refusing to give them up and flying with them to their grandfather Cheṭaka in Vaiśālī, Kūṇiya having failed peacefully to obtain the extradition of the fugitives, commenced war with Cheṭaka.[1] According to Buddhaghosha's commentary the Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī,[2] the cause of the war was a breach of trust on the part of the Lichchhavis in connection with a mine of precious gems.

The preliminaries to the struggle between Magadha and Vaiśālī are described in the Mahāvagga and the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta. In the Mahāvagga it is related that Sunidha and Vassakāra, two ministers of Magadha, were building a fort at Pāṭaligāma in order to repel the Vajjis. The Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta says "the Blessed One was once dwelling in Rājagaha on the hill called the Vulture's Peak. Now at that time Ajātasattu Vedehiputta, the king of Magadha, was desirous of attacking the Vajjians; and he said to himself, 'I will root out these Vajjians, mighty and powerful though they be, I will destroy these Vajjians, I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin.'

"So he spake to the Brāhmaṇa Vassakāra, the prime minister of Magadha, and said 'Come now, Brāhmaṇa, do you go to the Blessed One, and...tell him that Ajātaśattu...has resolved, 'I will root out these Vajjians.' Vassakāra hearkened to the words of the king..." (and delivered to the Buddha the message even as the king had commanded).

In the Nirayāvalī Sūtra it is related that when Kūṇika (Ajātaśatru) prepared to attack Cheṭaka of

[1] Uvāsagadasāo, II, Appendix, p. 7; *cf.* Tawney, Kathākoça, pp. 176 ff.
[2] Burmese Edition, Part II, p. 99.

Vaiśālī the latter called together the eighteen Gaṇarājas of Kāsi and Kosala, together with the Lichchhavis and Mallakis, and asked them whether they would satisfy Kūṇika's demands, or go to war with him. The good relations subsisting between Kosala and Vaiśālī are referred to in the Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. II, p. 101. There is thus no reason to doubt the authenticity of the Jaina statement regarding the alliance between Kāsi-Kosala on the one hand and Vaiśālī on the other. It seems that all the enemies of Ajātaśatru including the rulers of Kāsi-Kosala and Vaiśālī offered a combined resistance The Kosalan war and the Vajjian war were probably not isolated events but parts of a common movement directed against the establishment of the hegemony of Magadha. This struggle reminds us of the tussle of the Samnites, Etruscans and Gauls with the rising Roman power.

In the war with Vaiśālī Kūṇiya-Ajātaśatru is said to have made use of the *Mahāsilākaṇṭaga* and *ra(t)hamusala*. The first seems to have been some engine of war of the nature of a catapult which threw big stones. The second was a chariot to which a mace was attached and which, running about, effected a great execution of men.[1] The *ra(t)hamusala* may be compared to the tanks used in the great European war.

The war synchronised with the death of Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta. Sixteen years later at the time of Mahāvīra's death the anti-Magadhan confederacy was still in existence. We learn from the Kalpa Sūtra that on the death of Mahāvīra the confederate kings mentioned in the Nirayāvalī Sūtra instituted a festival to be held in memory of that event. The struggle between the Magadha king and the powers arrayed against him thus

[1] Uvāsagadasāo, Vol. II, Appendix p. 60; Kathākoça, p. 179.

seems to have been protracted for more than sixteen years. The Aṭṭhakathā gives an account of the Machiavellian tactics adopted by Magadhan statesmen headed by Vassakāra to sow the seeds of dissension among the Vaiśālians and thus bring about their downfall.[1]

The absorption of Vaiśālī and Kāsi as a result of the Kosalan and Vajjian wars probably brought the aspiring ruler of Magadha face to face with the equally ambitious sovereign of Avanti. We have already referred to a statement of the Majjhima Nikāya that on one occasion Ajātaśatru was fortifying his capital because he was afraid of an invasion of his dominions by Pradyota. We do not know whether the attack was ever made. Ajātaśatru does not appear to have succeeded in humbling Avanti. The conquest of that kingdom was reserved for his successors.

In the opinion of Mr. Jayaswal the Parkham statue is a contemporary portrait of king Ajātaśatru. But this view has not met with general acceptance.

III. Ajātaśatru's Successors.

Ajātaśatru was succeeded according to the Purāṇas by Darśaka. Prof. Geiger considers the insertion of Darśaka after Ajātaśatru to be an error, because the Pāli Canon indubitably asserts that Udāyi-bhadda was the son of Ajātaśatru and probably also his successor. Jaina tradition recorded in the Kathākoça (p. 177) and the Pariśishṭaparvan (p. 42) also represents Udaya or Udāyin as the son of Kūṇika by his wife Padmāvatī, and his immediate successor.

Though the reality of the existence of Darśaka, as king of Magadha, is established by the discovery of Bhāsa's (?) Svapna-Vāsavadatta, yet in the face of Buddhist and

[1] *Cf.* Modern Review, July, 1919, pp. 55-56.

Jaina evidence it cannot be confidently asserted that he was the immediate successor of Ajātaśatru. Prof. Bhandarkar identifies him with Nāga-Dāsaka who is represented by the Ceylonese Chronicles as the last king of Bimbisāra's line. The Ceylonese tradition seems to be confirmed by the following passage in Hiuen Tsang's Si-yu-ki, "To the south-west of the old Saṅghārāma about 100 li is the Saṅghārāma of Ti-lo-shi-kia.....It was built by the last descendant of Bimbisāra rāja."[1] The name of the second Saṅghārāma was probably derived from that of Darśaka who is here represented as the last descendant of Bimbisāra.

Udāyin : Before his accession to the throne Udāyin or Udāyi-bhadda, the son of Ajātaśatru, seems to have acted as his father's Viceroy at Champā.[2] The Pariśishṭaparvan further informs us that he founded a new capital on the bank of the Ganges which came to be known as Pāṭaliputra. This part of the Jaina tradition is confirmed by the testimony of the Vāyu Purāṇa according to which Udayî built the city of Kusumapura in the fourth year of his reign. The choice of Pāṭaliputra was probably due to its position in the centre of the realm which now included North Bihār. Moreover its situation at the confluence of two large rivers (the Ganges and the Son) was important from the commercial as well as the strategic point of view. In this connection it is interesting to note that Kauṭilya recommends a site at the confluence of rivers for the capital of a kingdom.

The Pariśishṭaparvan (pp. 45-46) refers to the king of Avanti as the enemy of Udāyin. This does not seem to be improbable in view of the fact that his father had to fortify his capital in expectation of an attack about to be made by

[1] Beal, Si-yu-ki, II, p. 102.
[2] Jacobi, Pariśishṭaparvan, p. 42.

Pradyota, king of Avanti. The fall of Aṅga and Vaiśālī and the discomfiture of Kosala had left Avanti the only important rival of Magadha. This last kingdom had absorbed all the kingdoms and republics of eastern India. On the other hand, if the Kathā-sarit-sāgara[1] is to be believed the kingdom of Kauśāmbî was at this time annexed to the realm of Pālaka of Avanti, the son of Pradyota. The two kingdoms, Magadha and Avanti, were brought face to face with each other. The contest between the two for the mastery of northern India probably began, as we have seen, in the reign of Ajātaśatru. It must have continued during the reign of Udāyin. The issue was finally decided in the time of Śiśunāga.

In the opinion of Mr. Jayaswal one of the famous "Patna Statues" in the Bhārhut Gallery of the Indian Museum is a portrait of Udāyin. According to him the statue bears the following words :

Bhage ACHO chhonidhiśe.

He identifies ACHO with king Aja mentioned in the Bhāgavata list of Śaiśunāga kings, and with Udāyin of the Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa lists. Mr. Jayaswal's reading and interpretation of the inscription have not, however, been accepted by several scholars including Dr. Barnett, and Professors Chanda and Majumdar. Dr. Smith, however, while unwilling to dogmatize, was of opinion that the statue was pre-Maurya. In the third edition of his "Asoka" he considers Mr. Jayaswal's theory as probable. The characters of the short inscription on the statue are so difficult to read that it is well-nigh impossible to come to a final decision. For the present the problem must be regarded as not yet definitely solved. Cunningham described the statue as that of a Yaksha. According to him

[1] Tawney's Translation, Vol. II, p. 184.

the figure bore the words " Yakshe Achusanigika." Prof. Chanda's reading is : Bha (?) ga Achachha nivika (the owner of inexhaustible capital, *i.e.*, Vaiśravaṇa).[1] Dr. Majumdar reads : Gate (Yakhe?) Lechchhai (vi) 40, 4.

Udāyin's successors according to the Purāṇas were Nandivardhana and Mahānandin. But the Ceylonese chronicles place after Udāyi the kings named Anuruddha, Muṇḍa and Nāga Dāsaka. Here again the Ceylonese account is partially confirmed by the Aṅguttara Nikāya which refers to Muṇḍa, King of Pāṭaliputra. Prof. Bhandarkar mentions his queen Bhadrādevî and treasurer Priyaka. The Aṅguttara Nikāya by mentioning Pāṭaliputra as the capital of Muṇḍa indirectly confirms the tradition regarding the transfer of the Magadhan metropolis from Rājagṛiha to Kusumapura or Pāṭaliputra.

The Ceylonese chronicles state that all the kings from Ajātaśatru to Nāga-Dāsaka were parricides. The people became angry, banished the dynasty and raised an *amātya* named Susu Nāga (**Śiśunāga**) to the throne.

The new king seems to have been acting as the Magadhan Viceroy at Benares. The Purāṇas tell us that " placing his son at Benares he will make Girivraja his own abode." The employment of *amātyas* as provincial governors or district officers need not cause surprise. The custom was prevalent as late as the time of Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi and Rudradāman I.

The Purāṇic statement that Śiśunāga destroyed the power of the Pradyotas proves the correctness of the Ceylonese tradition that he came after Bimbisāra who was a contemporary of Pradyota. In view of this we cannot accept the other Purāṇic statement that Śiśunāga was the progenitor of Bimbisāra's family. It may be argued that as Śiśunāga had his capital at Girivraja he must have

[1] Indian Antiquary, March, 1919.

flourished before Udāyin who was the first to remove the capital to Pāṭaliputra. But the fact that Kālāśoka, the son and successor of Śiśunāga, had also to transfer the royal residence from Rājagṛiha to Paṭaliputra [1] shows that one of his predecessors had reverted to the old capital. Who this predecessor was is made clear by the Purāṇic statement that Śiśunāga " will make Girivraja his own abode." The inclusion of Benares within Śiśunāga's dominions also proves that he came after Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru who were the first to establish Magadhan authority in Kāśi.

From a statement in the Mālālaṅkāravatthu, a Pāli work of modern date, but following very closely the more ancient books, it appears that Śiśunāga had a royal residence at Vaiśālī which ultimately became his capital.[2] " That monarch (Susunāga), not unmindful of his mother's origin,[3] re-established the city of Vesāli, and fixed in it the royal residence. From that time Rājagaha lost her rank of royal city which she never afterwards recovered." This passage which says that Rājagṛiha lost her rank of royal city from the time of Śiśunāga, proves that Śiśunāga came after the palmy days of Rājagṛiha, *i.e.*, the period of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru.

The most important achievement of Śiśunāga seems to have been the annihilation of the power and prestige of the **Pradyota dynasty of Avanti**. Pradyota, the first king of the line, had been succeeded by his sons Gopāla and Pālaka after whom came Āryaka. The Purāṇas place after Āryaka or Ajaka a king named Nandivardhana, or Vartivardhana, and add that Śiśunāga will destroy the

1 SBE., XI, p. xvi.

2 SBE., XI, p. xvi. If the *Dvātriṁśat puttalikā* is to be believed Vesāli (Vaiśālī) continued to be a secondary capital till the time of the Nandas.

3 Susunāga, according to the Mahāvaṁsaṭīkā (Turnour's Mahāvaṁsa, xxxvii), was the son of a Lichchhavi rājā of Vaiśālī. He was conceived by a *nagara-śobhini* and brought up by an officer of state.

prestige of the Pradyotas and be king. Mr. Jayaswal identifies Ajaka and Nandivardhana of the Avanti list with Aja-Udāyin and Nandivardhana of the Purāṇic list of Śaiśunāga kings. But Prof. Bhandarkar says that Āryaka or Ajaka was the son of Gopāla, the elder brother of Pālaka. 'Nandivardhana' and 'Vartivardhana' are apparently corruptions of Avantivardhana, the name of a son of Pālaka according to the Kathā-sarit-sāgara,[1] of Gopāla, according to the Nepalese Bṛihat Kathā. The important thing to remember is that the Pradyota dynasty was humbled by **Siśunāga**. Whether the Śaiśunāga occupation of Avanti took place immediately after Pālaka, or two generations later, is immaterial.

Śiśunāga [2] was succeeded according to the Purāṇas by his son **Kākavarṇa**, according to the Ceylonese chronicles by his son **Kālāsoka**. Professors Jacobi, Geiger and Bhandarkar suggest that Kālāśoka, "the black Aśoka" and Kākavarṇa, "the crow-coloured" are one and the same person. This conclusion is confirmed by the evidence of the Aśokāvadāna which places Kākavarnin after Muṇḍa, and does not mention Kālāśoka. The two most important events of the reign of Kālāśoka are the holding of the second Buddhist Council at Vaiśālî, and the retransfer of the capital to Pāṭaliputra. Bāṇa in his Harshacharita [4] gives a curious legend concerning the death of Kākavarṇa (Kālāśoka). It is stated there that Kākavarṇa Śaiśunāgi had a dagger thrust into his throat in the vicinity of his city. The story about the tragic end of this king is, as we shall see later on, confirmed by Greek evidence.

1 Tawney's translation, II, 485.

2 The Kāvya Mīmāṁsā contains an interesting notice of this king and says that he prohibited the use of cerebrals in his harem.

Geiger, Mahāvaṁsa, p. xli. 4 Edited by Kāsināth Pāṇḍuraṅg Parab. p. 223.

The successors of Kālāśoka were his ten sons who are supposed to have ruled simultaneously. Their names according to the Mahābodhivaṁsa were Bhadrasena, Koraṇḍavarṇa, Maṅgura, Sarvañjaha, Jālika, Ubhaka, Sañjaya, Koravya, **Nandi-vardhana** and Pañchamaka. Prof. Bhandarkar suggests that Nandivardhana of the Mahābodhivaṁsa is most probably Nandivardhana of the Purāṇic list. Mr. Jayaswal says that the headless Patna statue in the Bhārhut Gallery of the Indian Museum is a portrait of this king. According to him the inscription on the statue runs as follows :—

Sapa (or Sava) khate Vaṭa Naṁdi.

He regards Vaṭa Naṁdi as an abbreviation of Vartivardhana (the name of Nandivardhana in the Vāyu list) and Nandivardhana. Mr. R. D. Banerji in the June number of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1919, says that there cannot be two opinions about the reading Vaṭa Naṁdi. Prof. Chanda, however, regards the statue in question as an image of a Yaksha and reads the inscription which it bears as follows :—

Yakha sa (?) rvaṭa naṁdi.

Dr. Majumdar says that the inscription may be read as follows :—

Yakhe saṁ Vajināṁ 70

He places the inscription in the second century A. D., and supports the Yaksha theory propounded by Cunningham and upheld by Prof. Chanda. He does not agree with those scholars who conclude that the statue is a portrait of a Śaiśunāga sovereign simply because there are some letters in the inscription under discussion which may be construed as a name of a Śaiśunāga king. Referring to Mr. Jayaswal's suggestion that the form Vaṭa Naṁdi

is composed of two variant proper names (Vartivardhana and Naṁdivardhana) he says that Chandragupta II was also known as Devagupta, and Vigrahapāla had a second name Śūrapāla; but who has ever heard of compound names like Chandra-Deva, or Deva-Chandra, and Śūra-Vigraha or Vigraha-Śūra?

Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrî takes Vaṭa Naṁdi to mean Vrātya Naṁdi and says that the statue has most of the articles of dress as given by Kātyāyana to the Vrātya Kshatriya. In the Purāṇas the Siśunāga kings are mentioned as Kshattrabandhus, *i.e.*, Vrātya Kshatriyas. The Mahāmahopādhyāya thus inclines to the view of Mr. Jayaswal that the statue in question is a portrait of a Saiṣunāga king.[1]

Mr. Ordhendu Coomar Gangoly, on the other hand, regards the statue as a Yaksha image, and draws our attention to the catalogue of Yakshas in the Mahāmāyūrī and the passage "Nandi cha Vardhanas chaiva nagare Nandivardhane."[2] Dr. Barnett is also not satisfied that the four syllables which may be read as Vaṭa Naṁdi mention the name of a Śaiśunāga king. Dr. Smith, however, in the third edition of his "Aśoka" admits the possibility of Mr. Jayaswal's contention. We regard the problem as still unsolved. The data at our disposal are too scanty to warrant the conclusion that the inscription on the Patna statue mentions a Śaiśunāga king. The script seems to be late.

Messrs. R. D. Banerji and Jayaswal propose to identify Nandivardhana, the Śaiśunāga king, with Nandarāja mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga. One of the passages containing the name of Nandarāja runs thus :

[1] JBORS., December, 1919.
[2] Modern Review, October, 1919.

Paṁchame cha dāni vase Na(ṁ)da-rāja-tivasa sata-o(ghā?)ṭitam Tanasuliyavāṭā panāḍiṁ nagaraṁ pavesa...

"In the fifth year he had an aqueduct that had not been used for 300 (or 103) years since king Nanda conducted into the city."

Nandivardhana is identified with Nanda on the strength of Kshemendra's reference to the Pūrvanandāḥ who, we are told, should be distinguished from the Navanandāḥ or New (Later) Nandas, and identified with Nandivardhana and Mahānandin.[1] In the Kathā-sarit-sāgara, however, Pūrvananda (*Singular*) is distinguished, not from the Navanandāḥ, but from Yogananda (Pseudo-Nanda) the re-animated corpse of king Nanda.[2] The Purāṇas and the Ceylonese authorities know of the existence of only one Nanda line. Those works are unanimous in taking *nava* to mean *nine* (and not *new*). They represent Nandivardhana as a king of the Śaiśunāga line—a dynasty which is sharply distinguished from the Nandas. Moreover, as Prof. Chanda points out,[3] the Purāṇas contain nothing to show that Nandivardhana had anything to do with Kaliṅga. On the contrary, we are distinctly told by those authorities that when the kings of the Śaiśunāga dynasty and their predecessors were reigning in Magadha 32 kings reigned in Kaliṅga in succession synchronously. It is not Nandivardhana but Mahâpadma Nanda who is said to have brought "all under his sole sway" and "uprooted all Kshatriyas." So we should identify Naṁdarāja of the Hāthigumphā inscription who held possession of Kaliṅga either with the all-conquering Mahāpadma Nanda or one of his sons.

We learn from the Purāṇas as well as the Ceylonese

1 The Oxford History of India, Additions and Corrections; JBORS., 1918, 91.
2 Kathā Sarit Sāgara, Durgaprasād and Parab's edtion, p. 10.
3 Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. I, p. 11.

Chronicles that the Śaiśunāga dynasty was supplanted by the Nanda line.

IV. The Chronology of the Bimbisāra (Haryaṅka) Śiśunāga Group.

There is considerable disagreement between the Purāṇas and the Ceylonese Chronicles regarding the chronology of the kings of the Bimbisārian (or Haryaṅka) and Śaiśunāga dynasties. Even Dr. Smith is not disposed to accept all the dates given in the Purāṇas. Prof. Bhandarkar observes,[1] "they (the Purāṇas) assign a period of 363 years to ten consecutive reigns, *i.e.*, at least 36 years to each reign which is quite preposterous." According to the Ceylonese Chronicles Bimbisāra ruled for fifty-two years, Ajātaśatru for 32 years, Udaya for 16 years, Anuruddha and Muṇḍa for 8 years, Nāgadāsaka for 24 years, Susunāga for 18 years, Kālāśoka for 28 years and Kālāśoka's sons for 22 years. Gautama Buddha died when Ajātaśatru was on the throne for 8 years,[2] *i.e.*, 52+8=60 years after the accession of Bimbisāra. Fleet and Geiger adduce good grounds for believing that the Parinirvāṇa really took place in 483 B. C.[3] Adding 60 to 483 B. C. we get the year 543 B. C. as the date of the accession of Bimbisāra. In the time of Bimbisāra Gandhāra was an independent kingdom ruled by a king named Pukkusāti. By B. C. 516 Gandhāra had lost its independence and had become subject to Persia, as we learn from the Behistun inscription of Darius. It is thus clear that Pukkusāti and his contemporary Bimbisāra lived before B. C. 516.

[1] Carm. Lec., 1918, p. 68.
[2] Carm. Lec., p. 70.
[3] JRAS., 1909, pp. 1-34; Geiger, Mahāvaṁsa, p. xxviii.

This accords with the chronology which places his accession in B. C. 543. Curiously enough this is the starting point of one of the traditional Nirvāṇa eras. Prof. Geiger shows that the dates 544 (543 according to some scholars) and 483 were starting points of two distinct eras. He proves that in Ceylon down to the beginning of the eleventh century A. D. the Nirvāṇa era was reckoned from 483 B. C. There can thus be no doubt that the era of 483 B. C. was the real Nirvāṇa era. What then was the origin of the era of 544 or 543 B. C.? It is not altogether improbable that this era was reckoned from the accession of Bimbisāra, and was at first current in Magadha. Later on it travelled to distant lands including Ceylon and was confounded with the Nirvāṇa era of 483 B. C. Then the real Nirvāṇa era fell into disuse, and the era of 544 B. C. came to occupy its place.

V. The Nandas.

We have seen that the Śaiśunāga dynasty was supplanted by the line of Nanda. The name of the first Nanda was **Mahāpadma** according to the Purāṇas and **Ugrasena** according to the Mahābodhivaṁsa. The Purāṇas describe him as Śūdrā-garbh-odbhava, *i.e.*, born of a Śūdra mother. The Jaina Pariśishṭaparvan (p. 46) represents Nanda as the son of a courtesan by a barber. The Jaina tradition is strikingly confirmed by the classical accounts of the father of Alexander's Magadhan contemporary. Curtius says [1] "His (Agrammes', *i.e.*, the last Nanda's) father (*i.e.*, the first Nanda) was in fact a barber, scarcely staving off hunger by his daily earnings, but who, from his being not uncomely in person, had gained the affections of the queen, and was by her influence advanced to too near a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch. Afterwards, however, he treacherously murdered his sovereign and then, under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority, and having put the young princes to death begot the present king." The murdered sovereign seems to have been Kālāśoka-Kākavarṇa who had a tragic end as we know from the Harsha-charita. Kākavarṇa Śaiśunāgi, says Bāṇa, had a dagger thrust into his throat in the vicinity of his city. The young princes referred to by Curtius were evidently the sons of Kālāśoka-Kākavarṇa. The Greek account of the rise of the family of Agrammes fits in well with the Cylonese account of the end of the Śaiśunāga line and the rise of the Nandas, but not with the Purāṇic story which represents the first Nanda as a son of the last Śaiśunāga by a Śūdra woman, and makes no

[1] McCrindle, The Invasion of India by Alexander, p. 222.

mention of the young princes. The name Agrammes is probably a distorted form of the Sanskrit Augrasainya, "son of Ugrasena." Ugrasena is, as we have seen, the name of the first Nanda according to the Mahābodhivaṁsa. His son may aptly be termed Augrasainya which the Greeks corrupted into Agrammes and later on into Xandrames.

The Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas call Mahāpadma, the first Nanda king, the destroyer of all the Kshatriyas (sarva Kshatrāntaka) and sole monarch (ekarāṭ) of the earth which was under his undisputed sway, which terms imply that he overthrew all the dynasties which ruled contemporaneously with the Śaiśunāgas, *viz.*, the Ikshvākus, Kurus, Pañchālas, Kāśis, Maithilas, Vîtihotras, Haihayas, Kaliṅgas, Aśmakas, Śūrasenas, etc. The Purāṇic account of the unification of a considerable portion of India under Nanda's sceptre is corroborated by the classical writers who speak of the most powerful peoples who dwelt beyond the Beas in the time of Alexander as being under one sovereign who had his capital at Palibothra (Pāṭaliputra). The inclusion of Kosala within Nanda's dominions seems to be implied by a passage of the Kathā-sarit-sāgara [1] which refers to the camp of king Nanda in Ayodhyā. Several Mysore inscriptions state that Kuntala, a province which included the southern part of the Bombay Presidency and the north of Mysore, was ruled by the Nandas.[2] But these are of comparatively modern date, the twelfth century, and too much cannot be built upon their statements. More important is the evidence of the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela which mentions Nandarāja in connection

1 Tawney's Translation, p. 21.

2 Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 3. Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, 284, n.2.

with an aqueduct of Kaliṅga. The passage in the inscription seems to imply that Nandarāja held sway in Kaliṅga. A second passage of Khāravela's inscription seems to state that king Nanda carried away as trophies the statue (or footprints) of the first Jina and heirlooms of the Kaliṅga kings to Magadha.[1] In view of Nanda's possession of Kaliṅga the conquest of regions lying further south does not seem to be altogether improbable. The existence on the Godāvarī of a city called "Nau Nand Dehra" (Nander[2]) also suggests that the Nanda dominions embraced a considerable portion of the Deccan.

The Matsya Purāṇa assigns 88 years to the reign of the first Nanda, but 88 (Aṣhṭāśīti) is probably a mistake for 28 (Aṣhṭāviṁśati), as the Vāyu assigns only 28 years. According to Tāranāth Nanda reigned 29 years.[3] According to the Ceylonese accounts the Nandas ruled only for 22 years.

Mahāpadma-Ugrasena was succeeded by his eight sons who ruled for twelve years according to the Purāṇas. The Ceylonese Chronicles, as we have already seen, give the total length of the reign-period of all the nine Nandas as 22 years. The Purāṇas mention only the name of one son of Mahāpadma, *viz.*, Sukalpa. The Mahābodhivaṁsa gives the following names: Paṇḍuka, Paṇḍugati, Bhūtapāla, Rāshṭrapāla, Govishāṇaka, Daśasiddhaka, Kaivarta and **Dhana**. The last king is called by the classical writers **Agrammes** or **Xandrames**. Agrammes is, as we have seen, probably the Greek corruption of the Sanskrit patronymic Augrasainya.

The first Nanda left to his sons not only a big empire but also a large army and a full exchequer. Curtius

[1] JBORS, 1917, December, pp. 447, 457-458.
[2] Macauliffe's Sikh Religion, V, p. 236.
[3] Ind. Ant., 1875, p. 362.

tells us that Agrammes, king of the Gangaridae and the Prasii, kept in the field for guarding the approaches to his country 20,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry, besides 2,000 four-horsed chariots, and, what was the most formidable force of all, a troop of elephants which, he said, ran up to the number of 3,000. Diodorus and Plutarch give similar accounts. But they raise the number of elephants to 4,000 and 6,000 respectively.

The enormous wealth of the Nandas is referred to by several writers. Prof. S. K. Aiyangar points out [1] that a Tamil poem contains an interesting statement regarding the wealth of the Nandas " which having accumulated first in Pāṭali, hid itself in the floods of the Ganges." [2] The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang refers to " the five treasures of king Nanda's seven precious substances." A passage of the Kathā-sarit-sāgara says [3] that king Nanda possessed 990 millions of gold pieces.

The Ashṭādhyāyî of Pāṇini, translated by Mr. S. C. Vasu contains a rule (Sūtra II. 4. 21) as an illustration of which the following passage is cited :

Nandopakramāni mānāni.

This indicates that one of the Nanda kings was credited with the invention of a particular kind of measures.

We learn from Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, Kāmandaka's Nîtisāra, the Purāṇas, the Mahāvaṁsa and the Mudrā-rākshasa that the Nanda dynasty was overthrown by

[1] Beginnings of South Indian History, p. 89.

[2] *Cf.* " The youngest brother was called Dhana Nanda, from his being addicted to hoarding treasure...He collected riches to the amount of eighty koṭis—in a rock in the bed of the river (Ganges) having caused a great excavation to be made, he buried the treasure there ...Levying taxes among other articles, even on skins, gums, trees, and stones he amassed further treasures which he disposed of similarly." (Turnour, Mahāvaṁsa, p. xxxix).

[3] Tawney's Translation, Vol. I, p. 21.

Kauṭilya, the famous minister of Chandragupta Maurya. No detailed account of this great dynastic revolution has survived. The accumulation of an enormous amount of wealth by the Nanda kings probably implies a good deal of financial extortion. Moreover, we are told by the classical writers that Agrammes (the last Nanda) " was detested and held cheap by his subjects as he rather took after his father than conducted himself as the occupant of a throne." [1]

The Purāṇic passage about the revolution stands as follows :

Uddharishyati tān sarvān
Kauṭilyo vai dvir ashṭabhiḥ
Kauṭilyaś Chandraguptaṁ tu
Tato rājye'bhishekshyati.

Mr. Jayaswal [2] proposes to read Virashṭrābhiḥ instead of dvir ashṭabhiḥ. Virashṭrās he takes to mean the Āraṭṭas, and adds that Kauṭilya was helped by the Āraṭṭas " the band of robbers " of Justin. [3] Pargiter, however, suggests [4] that *dvija-ṛṣabhaḥ* may be the correct reading instead of " dvirashṭabhiḥ."

The Milinda-Pañho [5] refers to an episode of the great struggle between the Nandas and the Mauryas : " there was: Bhaddasāla, the soldier in the service of the royal family of Nanda, and he waged war against king Chandagutta. Now in that war, Nāgasena, there were eighty Corpse dances. For they say that when one great Head Holocaust has taken place (by which is meant the

[1] McCrindle, The Invasion of India by Alexander, p. 222.
[2] Ind. Ant., 1914, p. 124.
[3] *Cf.* Cunningham, Bhilsa Topes, pp. 88, 89.
[4] Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 26, n. 35.
[5] *Cf.* SBE, XXXVI, pp. 147-48.

slaughter of ten thousand elephants, and a lac of horses, and five thousand charioteers, and a hundred koṭis of soldiers on foot), then the headless corpses arise and dance in frenzy over the battle-field." The passage contains a good deal of what is untrustworthy. But we have here a reminiscence of the bloody encounter between the contending forces of the Nandas and the Mauryas.[1]

---

[1] *Cf.* Ind. Ant., 1914, p. 124n.

The Persian and Macedonian Invasions.

1. *The Advance of Persia to the Indus.*

While the kingdoms and republics of the Indian interior were gradually being merged in the Magadha Empire, those of North-West India were passing through vicissitudes of a different kind. In the first half of the sixth century B.C. the Uttarāpatha beyond the Madhyadeśa, like the rest of India, was parcelled out into a number of small states the most important of which were Kamboja, Gandhāra and Madra. No sovereign arose in this part of India capable of welding together the warring communities, as Ugrasena-Mahāpadma had done in the East. The whole region was at once wealthy and disunited, and formed the natural prey of the strong Achæmenian monarchy which grew up in Persia.

Kurush or **Cyrus** (551-530 B. C.), the founder of the Persian Empire, is said to have led an expedition against India through Gedrosia, but had to abandon the enterprise, escaping with seven men only.[1] But he was more successful in the Kābul valley. We learn from Pliny that he destroyed the famous city of Kāpiśī. Arrian informs us[2] that "the district west of the river Indus as far as the river Cophen (Kābul) is inhabited by the Astacenians (Āshṭakas?)[3] and the Assacenians (Aśmakas), Indian tribes. These were in ancient times subject to the Assyrians, afterwards to the Medes, and finally they submitted to the Persians, and paid tribute to Cyrus, the son of Cambyses as ruler of their land." Strabo tells us that on one occasion the Persians summoned the Hydraces

[1] H. and F. Strabo, III, p. 74.

[2] Chinnock's p. 399.

[3] Patañjali (iv. 2.2) refers to "Āshṭakaṁ (cf. Hashtnagar) nāma dhanva."

(the Kshudrakas) from India (*i.e.*, the Pañjāb) to attend them as mercenaries.

In the Behistun (Bahistān) inscription [1] of Dārayavaush or **Darius I** (522-486 B. C.), the third sovereign of the Achæmenian dynasty, the people of Gandhāra (Gadāra) appear among the subject peoples of the Persian Empire. But no mention is there made of the Hidus (people of Sindhu or the Indus Valley) who are included with the Gandhārians in the lists of subject peoples given by the inscriptions on the palace of Darius at Persepolis, and on his tomb at Naksh-i-Rustum.[1] From this Rapson infers that the "Indians" (Hidus) were conquered at some date between 516 B.C. (the probable date of the Behistun inscription), and the end of the reign of Darius in 486 B.C. The preliminaries to this conquest are described by Herodotus:[2] "he (Darius) being desirous to know in what part the Indus, which is the second river that produces crocodiles, discharges itself into the sea, sent in ships both others on whom he could rely to make a true report and also Scylax of Caryanda. They accordingly setting out from the city of Caspatyrus[3] and the country of Paktyike (Pakthas ?)[4] sailed down the river towards the east and sunrise to the sea; then sailing on the sea westwards, they arrived in the thirtieth month at that place where the king of Egypt despatched the Phœnicians, to sail round Libya. After these persons had sailed round, Darius subdued the Indians and frequented the sea."

Herodotus tells us that "India" constituted the twentieth and the most populous satrapy of the Persian Empire, and that it paid a tribute proportionately larger

[1] Ancient Persian Lexicon and the Texts of the Achæmenidan Inscriptions by H. C. Tolman.

[2] McCrindle, Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, pp. 4-5.

[3] Camb. Hist. Ind., I. 336.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 82.

than all the rest,—360 talents of gold dust, equivalent to £1,290,000. Gandhāra was included in the seventh satrapy. The details regarding "India" left by Herodotus leave no room for doubt that it embraced the Indus Valley and was bounded on the east by the desert of Rājaputāna. "That part of India towards the rising sun is all sand; for of the people with whom we are acquainted, the Indians live the furthest towards the east and the sunrise, of all the inhabitants of Asia, for the Indians' country towards the east is a desert by reason of the sands."

Khshayārshā or **Xerxes** (486-465 B. C.), the son and successor of Darius I, maintained his hold on the Indian provinces. In the great army which he led against Hellas both Gandhāra and "India" were represented. The Gandhārians are described by Herodotus as bearing bows of reed and short spears, and the "Indians" as being clad in cotton garments and bearing cane bows with arrows tipped with iron. An interesting relic of Persian dominion in India is a Taxila inscription in Aramaic characters of the fourth or fifth century B. C.[1] To the Persians is also attributed the introduction of the Kharoshṭhī alphabet, the "Persepolitan capital," and words like "dipi" and "nipishṭa" occurring in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Persian influence has also been traced in the preamble of the Aśokan edicts.

II. *The Last of the Achæmenids and Alexander.*

Indians figured in the army which **Darius III** Codomannus (335-330 B. C.) led against Alexander. "The Indians who were conterminous with the Bactrians as also the Bactrians themselves and the Sogdianians had come to the aid of Darius, all being under the command

[1] JRAS., 1915, pp. 340-347.

of Bessus, the Viceroy of the land of Bactria. They were followed by the Sacians, a Scythian tribe belonging to the Scythians who dwell in Asia. These were not subject to Bessus but were in alliance with Darius...Barsaentes, the Viceroy of Arachotia, led the Arachotians and the men who were called mountaineer Indians. There were a few elephants, about fifteen in number belonging to the Indians who live this side of the Indus. With these forces Darius had encamped at Gaugamela, near the river Bumodus, about 600 stades distant from the city of Arbela.''[1] The hold of the Achæmenians on the Indian provinces had, however, grown very feeble about this time, and the whole of north-western India was parcelled out into innumerable kingdoms and republics. A list of the more important among these states is given below :—

1. The **Aspasian** territory (Alishang-Kūnar-Bajaur valley) :

It lay in the difficult hill country north of the Kābul river watered by the Choes (Alishang?) and the Euaspla (Kūnar?). The name of the people is derived from the Irānian "Aspa," *i.e.*, the Sanskrit " Aśva " or Aśvaka. The Aspasians were thus the western branch of the Aśvakas or Aśmakas (Assakenians).[2] The chieftain of the tribe dwelt in a city on or near the river Euaspla, supposed to be identical with the Kūnar, a tributary of the Kābul. Other Aspasian cities were Andaka and Arigaeum.[3]

2. The country of the **Guraeans** :

It was watered by the river Guraeus (**Gauri** or Pañjkora probably the Khoaspes of Curtius) and lay between

[1] Chinnock, Arrian's Anabasis, pp. 142-143.
[2] Camb. Hist., 352, n. 3.
[3] Chinnock's Arrian, pp. 230-231.

the land of the Aspasians and the country of the Assakenians.

3. The Kingdom of **Assakenus** (Swāt and Buner) :

It had its capital at Massaga, a " formidable fortress probably situated not very far to the north of the Malakand Pass but not yet precisely identified." The name of the Assakenians represents the Sanskrit Aśvaka or **Aśmaka.** The territory occupied by the tribe was also known as Suvāstu, Udyāna and, according to some, Oḍḍiyāna. The Aśmakas are mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 1. 173). They are placed in the north-west by the authors of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa and the Bṛihat Saṁhitā. A branch of this people probably settled in the Deccan, and gave their name to the Assaka Mahājanapada mentioned in the Aṅguttara Nikāya. The Assakenian king had a powerful army of 20,000 cavalry, more than 30,000 infantry and 30 elephants. The reigning king at the time of Alexander's invasion is called by the Greeks Assakenos. His mother was Kleophis. Assakenos had a brother[1] who is called Eryx by Curtius and Aphrikes by Diodoros. It is not known in what relation these personages stood to Śarabha, king of the Aśmakas, whose tragic fate is described by Bāṇa.

4. **Nysa :**

This was a small hill state with a republican constitution. It was alleged to have been founded by Greek colonists long before the invasion of Alexander.[2] Arrian says,[3] " the Nysaeans are not an Indian race, but descended from the men who came into India with Dionysus." Curiously enough a Yona or Greek state is mentioned

[1] Invasion of Alexander, p. 378.

[2] McCrindle, Invasion of Alexander, p. 79; Hamilton and Falconer, Strabo, Vol. III, p. 76. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal informs me that he referred to the Nysaean Indo-Greeks in a lecture delivered as early as 1919.

[3] Chinnock's Arrian, p. 399.

along with Kamboja in the Majjhima Nikāya (II. 149) as flourishing in the time of Gautama Buddha and Assalāyna : " Yona Kambojesu dveva vaṇṇā Ayyo c'eva Dāsoca."

According to Holdich the lower spurs and valleys of Kohi-Mor are where the ancient city of Nysa once stood. At the time of Alexander's invasion the Nysaeans had Akouphis for their President. They had a Governing Body of 300 members.[1]

5. **Peukelaotis :**

It lay on the road from Kābul to the Indus. Arrian tells us[2] that the Kābul falls into the Indus in the land called Peukelaotis, taking with itself the Malantus, Soastus and Guraeus. Peukelaotis represents the Sanskrit **Pushkarāvatī**. It formed the western part of the old kingdom of Gandhāra. The people of the surrounding region are sometimes referred to as the " Astakenoi " by historians. The capital is represented by the modern Mīr Ziyārat and Chārsadda, about 17 miles N. E. of Peshāwar, on the Swāt river, the Soastus of Arrian, and the Suvāstu of the Vedic texts.

The reigning king at the time of Alexander's invasion was Astes[3] (Hasti or Ashṭaka?). He was defeated and killed by Hephaestion, a general of the Macedonian king.

6. **Taxila** or Takshaśilā :

Strabo says[4] " between the Indus and the Hydaspes (Jihlam) was Taxila, a large city, and governed by good laws. The neighbouring country is crowded with inhabitants and very fertile." The kingdom of Taxila formed the eastern part of the old kingdom of Gandhāra.

[1] Invasion of Alexander, p. 81.
[2] Chinnock's Arrian, p. 403.
[3] Chinnock, Arrian's Anabasis of Alexander and Indica, p. 228.
[4] H. & F's tr., III, p. 90.

In B. C. 327 the Taxilian throne was occupied by a prince whom the Greeks called Taxiles. When Alexander of Macedon arrived in the Kābul valley he sent a herald to the king of Taxila to bid him come and meet him. Taxiles accordingly did come to meet the conqueror, bringing valuable gifts. When he died his son Mophis or Omphis (Sanskrit Āmbhi) succeeded to the government. Curiously enough Kauṭilya, himself a native of Taxila according to the Mahāvaṁsa Ṭikā, refers to a school of political philosophers called Āmbhîyas, and Dr. F. W. Thomas connects them with Taxila.[1]

7. Abhisāra :

Strabo observes[2] that the kingdom was situated among the mountains above the Taxila country. The position of this state was correctly defined by Stein who pointed out that Dārvābhisāra[3] comprised the whole tract of the lower and middle hills lying between the Jihlam and the Chināb. Roughly speaking it corresponded to the Punch and Naoshera districts in Kaśmîra, and was probably an offshoot of the old kingdom of Kamboja. Abisares, the contemporary of Alexander, was a shrewd politician of the type of Charles Emanuel III of Sardinia. When the Macedonian invader arrived he informed him that he was ready to surrender himself and the land which he ruled. And yet before the battle which was fought between Alexander and the famous Poros, Abisares intended to join his forces with those of the latter.[4]

8. The kingdom of **Arsakes** :

The name of the principality represents the Sanskrit **Uraśā**, the modern Hazāra district. It adjoined the

[1] Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra, Introduction, p. 15.
[2] H. & F.'s tr., III, p. 90.
[3] *Cf.* Mbh. VII. 91, 43.
[4] Chinnock, Arrian, p. 276.

realm of Abisares, and was probably, like the latter, an offshoot of the old kingdom of Kamboja. Uraśā is mentioned in several Kharoshṭhî inscriptions, and, in the time of the geographer Ptolemy, absorbed the neighbouring realm of Taxila.

9. The **kingdom of the Elder Poros:**

This territory lay between the Jihlam and the Chināb and roughly corresponded to the modern districts of Jihlam, Guzrāt and Shāhpur.[1] Strabo tells us[2] that it was an extensive and fertile district containing nearly 300 cities. Diodoros informs us[3] that Poros had an army of more than 50,000 foot, above 3,000 horse, about 1,000 chariots, and 130 elephants. He was in alliance with Embisaros, *i.e.*, the king of Abhisāra.

Poros probably represents the Sanskrit Pūru or **Paurava**. In the Ṛig Veda the Pūrus are expressly mentioned as on the Sarasvatī. In the time of Alexander, however, we find them on the Hydaspes (Jihlam). The Bṛihat Saṁhitā, too (XIV. 27), associates the 'Pauravas,' with 'Madraka' and 'Mālava.' The Mahābhārata,[4] also, refers to a "Puram Paurava-rakshitam" which lay not far from Kaśmīra. It is suggested in the Vedic Index[5] that either the Hydaspes was the earlier home of the Pūrus, where some remained after the others had wandered east, or the later Pūrus represent a successful onslaught upon the west from the east.

10. The country of the people called **Glauganikai**[6] (Glauganicians) by Aristobulus, and Glausians by Ptolemy:

This tract was conterminous with the dominion of Poros.[7] It included no less than seven and thirty cities,

[1] It apparently included the old territory of Kekaya.

[2] H. & F.'s tr., III, p. 91.

[3] Invasion of Alexander, p. 274. [4] II. 27, 15-17. [5] Vol. II, pp. 12-13.

[6] With the second part of the name may be compared that of the Sanakānikas of the Gupta period. Mr. Jayaswal, who restores the name as Glauchukāyana, does not apparently take note of this fact. [7] Chinnock, Arrian, p. 276.

the smallest of which had not fewer than 5,000 inhabitants, while many contained upwards of 10,000.

11. **Gandaris:**

This little kingdom lay between the Chināb and the Rāvi and (if Strabo has given the correct name of the territory) probably represented the easternmost part of the old Mahājanapada of Gandhāra.[1] It was ruled by the Younger Poros, nephew of the monarch who ruled the country between the Jihlam and the Chināb.

12. The **Adraistai** :[2]

They dwelt on the eastern side of the Hydraotes or the Rāvi, and their main stronghold was Pimprama.

13. **Kathaioi** or Cathaeans :

Strabo points out that,[3] "some writers place Cathaia and the country of Sopeithes, one of the nomarchs, in the tract between the rivers (Hydaspes and Acesines, *i.e.*, the Jihlam and the Chināb) ; some on the other side of the Acesines and of the Hyarotis, on the confines of the territory of the other Poros, the nephew of Poros who was taken prisoner by Alexander." The Kathaioi probably represent the Sanskrit Kaṭha,[4] Kantha[5] or Krātha.[6] They were the head of the confederacy of independent tribes dwelling in the area of which the principal centre was Sāngala. This town was probably situated in the Gurudāspur district, not far from Fathgarh.[7] Anspach locates it at Jandiāla.

[1] But see Camb. Hist. Ind., I, 370, n. 4 ; the actual name of the territory in olden times was, however, Madra.

[2] Adrijas? Mbh., VII. 159.5.
Yaudheyān Adrijān Rājan Madrakān Mālavān api.

[3] H. & F.'s tr., III, p. 92.

[4] Jolly, SBE., VII. 15.

[5] Pāṇini, II. 4. 20.

[6] Mbh,, VIII. 85. 16.

[7] JRAS., 1903, p. 687.

The Kathaians enjoyed the highest reputation for courage and skill in the art of war. Onesikritos tells us that in Kathaia the handsomest man was chosen as king.[1]

14. The **kingdom of Sophytes** (Saubhūti) :

In the opinion of Smith, the position of this kingdom is fixed by the remark of Strabo[2] that it included a mountain composed of fossil salt sufficient for the whole of India; Sophytes was, therefore, according to him, the "lord of the fastnesses of the Salt Range stretching from Jhilam to the Indus." But we have already seen that the classical writers agree in placing Sophytes' kingdom east of the Jihlam. Curtius tells us[3] that the nation ruled by Sopeithes (Sophytes), in the opinion of the "barbarians," excelled in wisdom, and lived under good laws and customs. They did not acknowledge and rear children according to the will of the parents, but as the officers entrusted with the medical inspection of infants might direct, for if they remarked anything deformed or defective in the limbs of a child they ordered it to be killed. In contracting marriages they did not seek an alliance with high birth, but made their choice by the looks, for beauty in the children was highly appreciated. Strabo informs us[4] that the dogs in the territory of Sopeithes (Sophytes) were said to possess remarkable courage. We have some coins of Sophytes bearing on the obverse the head of the king, and on the reverse the figure of a cock. According to Smith the style is suggested probably by the "owls" of Athens. Strabo calls Sophytes a nomarch which probably

1 McCrindle, Ancient India as described in Classial Literature, p. 38.
2 H. & F.'s tr., III, p. 93.
3 Invasion of India by Alexander, p. 219.
4 H. & F., III, p. 93.

indicates that he was not an independent sovereign, but only a viceroy of some other king.

15. The kingdom of **Phegelas** or Phegeus :

It lay between the Hydraotes (Rāvi) and the Hyphasis (Bias). The name of the king, Phegelas, probably represents the Sanskrit Bhagala—the designation of a royal race of Kshatriyas mentioned in the Gaṇapāṭha.[1]

16. The **Siboi** :

They were the inhabitants of the Shorkot region in Jhang. They were probably identical with the Śiva people mentioned in a passage of the Ṛig Veda (VII. 18. 7) where they share with the Alinas, Pakthas, Bhalānases, and Viśāṇins the honour of being defeated by Sudās.[2] The Jātakas mention a Sivi country and its cities Ariṭṭhapura[3] and Jetuttara.[4] It is probable that Śiva, Śivi and Siboi were one and the same people. A place called Śiva-pura, is mentioned by the Scholiast on Pāṇini as situated in the northern country.[5] It is, doubtless, identical with Śibipura mentioned in a Shorkot inscription edited by Vogel. In the opinion of that scholar the mound of Shorkot marks the site of this city of the Śibis.[6]

The Siboi dressed themselves with the skins of wild beasts, and had clubs for their weapons. The nation had 40,000 foot soldiers in the time of Alexander.

The Mahābhārata (III. 130-131) refers to a *rāshṭra* of the Śivis ruled by king Uśînara, which lay not far from the Yamunā. It is not altogether improbable that the Uśînara[7] country was at one time the home of the Śivis. We

[1] Invasion of Alexander, p. 401.
[2] Vedic Index, Vol. II, pp. 381-382.
[3] Ummadanti Jātaka, No. 527 ; *cf.* Pāṇini, VI. 2. 100.
[4] Vessantara Jātaka, No. 547. See *ante*, p. 133, n. 2.
[5] Patañjali, IV, 2, 2; Ved. Ind., II, p. 382.
[6] Ep. Ind., 1921, p. 16.
[7] *Vide* pp. 43, 44 *ante*.

find them also in Sind, in Madhyamikā in Rājaputāna,[1] and, in the Daśa-kumāra-charita, on the banks of the Kāverî.[2]

17. The **Agalassoi** :

This people lived near the Siboi, and could muster an army of 40,000 foot and 3,000 horse.

18. The Sudracae or **Oxydrakai** :

They were settled between the Hydraotes (Rāvi) and the Hyphasis (Bias), in the territory probably included within the Montgomery district. Their name represents the Sanskrit **Kshudraka.**[3] They were one of the most numerous and warlike of all the Indian tribes in the Pañjāb. Arrian in one passage refers to the "leading men of their cities and their provincial governors" besides other eminent men. These words afford us a glimpse into the internal condition of this and similar tribes.

19. The **Malloi** :

They occupied the valley of the lower Hydraotes (Rāvi), on both banks of the river. Their name represents the Sanskrit **Mālava** According to Weber, Āpiśali (according to Jayaswal, Kātyāyana), speaks of the formation of the compound "Kshaudraka-Mālavā." Smith points out that the Mahābhārata couples the tribes in question as forming part of the Kaurava host in the Kurukshetra war.[4] Curtius tells us[5] that the Sudracae and the Malli had an army consisting of 90,000 foot soldiers, 10,000 cavalry and 900 war chariots.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar informs us that Pāṇini refers to the Mālavas as living by the profession of arms.[6] In later

[1] Vaidya, Med. Hind. Ind., I, p. 162 ; Carm. Lec., 1918, p. 173.

[2] The southern Sivis are probably to be identified with the Chola ruling family (Kielhorn, List of Southern Inscriptions, No. 685).

[3] Mbh., II. 52-15 ; VII. 68.9.

[4] EHI., 1914, p. 94 n. ; Mbh., VI. 59. 135.

[5] Invasion of Alexander, p. 234.

[6] Ind. Ant., 1913, p. 200.

times they are found in Rājaputāna, Avanti and the Mahî valley.

20. **The Abastanoi** :

Diodoros calls them the Sambastai,[1] Arrian Abastanoi, Curtius Sabarcae, and Orosius Sabagrae. They were settled on the lower Akesines. Their name represents the the Sanskrit **Ambashṭha**. The Ambashṭhas are mentioned in several Sanskrit and Pāli works. An Ambashṭha king is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 21), whose priest was Nārada. The Mahābhārata (II. 52. 14-15) mentions the Ambashṭhas along with the Śivis, Kshudrakas, Mālavas and other north-western tribes. The Purāṇas represent them as Ānava Kshatriyas and kinsmen of the Śivis.[2] In the Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra,[3] the Ambashṭha country is mentioned in conjunction with Sind :

Kāśmîra-Hūn-Āmbashṭha-Sindhavaḥ.

In the Ambaṭṭha Sutta,[4] an Ambaṭṭha is called a Brāhmaṇa. In the Smṛti literature, on the other hand, Ambashṭha denotes a man of mixed Brāhmaṇa and Vaiśya parentage. According to Jātaka IV. 363, the Ambaṭṭhas were farmers. It seems that the Ambashṭhas were a tribe who were at first mainly a fighting race, but some of whom took to other occupations, *viz.*, those of priests, farmers and, according to the Smṛiti writers, physicians (Ambashṭhānāṁ chikitsitam, Manu, X. 47).

In the time of Alexander, the Ambashṭhas were a powerful tribe having a democratic government. Their army consisted of 60,000 foot, 6,000 cavalry and 500 chariots.[5]

[1] Invasion of Alexander, p. 292.
[2] Pargiter, AIHT., pp. 108, 109.
[3] Ed. F. W. Thomas, p. 21.
[4] Dialogues of the Buddha, Part I, p. 109.
[5] Invasion of Alexander, p. 252.

In later times the Ambashṭhas are found in South-Eastern India near the Mekala range, and also in Bihār and Bengal.[1]

21-22. The **Xathroi** and the **Ossadioi** :

The Xathroi are according to McCrindle[2] the **Kshatri** of Sanskrit literature mentioned in the Laws of Manu as an impure tribe, being of mixed origin. V. de Saint-Martin suggests that in the Ossadioi we have the **Vasātt** of the Mahābhārata,[3] a tribe associated with the Śibis and Sindhu-Sauvīras.[4]

23-24. The **Sodrai** (Sogdoi) and the **Massanoi** :

They occupied Northern Sind. The Sodrai are the **Śudras** of Sanskrit literature, a people constantly associated with the Ābhiras who were settled near the Sarasvatî.[5]

25. The kingdom of **Mousikanos** :[6]

It included a large part of modern Sind. Its capital has been identified with Alor in the Sukkur district. The following characteristics of the inhabitants of the kingdom of Mousikanos are noticed by Strabo :[7]

"The following are their peculiarities ; to have a kind of Lacedæmonian common meal, where they eat in public. Their food consists of what is taken in the chase. They

[1] *Cf.* Ptolemy, Ind. Ant., XIII. 361 ; Bṛihat Samhitā, XIV.7 ; Mekhalāmushṭa of Mārkaṇḍeya P., LVIII, 14, is a corruption of Mekal-Āmbashṭha. *Cf.* also the Ambashṭha Kāyasthas of Bihār, and the Vaidyas of Bengal whom Bharata Mallika classes as Ambashṭha.

[2] Invasion of Alexander, p. 156 n.

[3] VII. 19.11 ; 89.37 ; VIII. 44.49.

[4] "Abhīshāhāḥ Śūrasenāḥ Śivayo'tha Vaśātayaḥ" (Mbh., VI. 106-8).
"Vaśāti Sindhu Sauvīrā itiprāyo'tikutsitāḥ"
"Gāndhārāḥ Sindhu-Śauvīrāḥ Sivayo'tha Vaśātayaḥ" (Mbh., VI. 51.14).

[5] Patañjali, I. 2.3 ; Mbh., VII. 19.6 ; IX. 37.1.

[6] Bevan in Camb. Hist. Ind., p. 377, restores the name as Mūshika. Mr. Jayaswal in his Hindu Polity suggests Muchukarṇa.

[7] H. & F., III, p. 96.

make no use of gold nor silver, although they have mines of these metals. Instead of slaves, they employed youths in the flower of their age, as the Cretans employ the Aphamiotæ, and the Lacedæmonians the Helots. They study no science with attention but that of medicine ; for they consider the excessive pursuit of some arts, as that of war, and the like to be committing evil. There is no process at law but against murder and outrage, for it is not in a person's own power to escape either one or the other; but as contracts are in the power of each individual, he must endure the wrong, if good faith is violated by another ; for a man should be cautious whom he trusts, and not disturb the city with constant disputes in courts of justice."

From the account left by Arrian it appears that the "Brāchmans," *i.e.*, the Brāhmaṇas exercised considerable influence in the country. They were the instigators of a revolt against the Macedonian invader.[1]

26. The principality of **Oxykanos :**

Curtius calls the subjects of Oxykanos the Praesti (**Proshthas** ?)[2] Oxykanos himself is called both by Strabo and Diodoros Portikanos. Cunningham places his territory to the west of the Indus in the level country around Larkhāna.[3]

27. The principality of **Sambos :**[4]

Sambos was the ruler of a mountainous country adjoining the kingdom of Mousikanos, with whom he was at feud. His capital, called Sindimana, has been identified with Sehwan, a city on the Indus.[5]

1 Chinnock, Arrian, p. 319.

2 Mbh., VI. 9.61.

3 Invasion of Alexander, p. 158.

4 Sambhu, according to Bevan (Camb. Hist. Ind., 377). Samba is a possible alternative.

5 McCrindle, Invasion of Alexander, p. 404.

28. **Patalene:**

It was the Indus delta, and took its name from the capital city, Patala, at or near the site of Bahmaṇābād.

Diodoros tells us [1] that Tauala (Patala) had a political constitution drawn on the same lines as the Spartan ; for in this community the command in war was vested in two hereditary kings of different houses, while a Council of Elders ruled the whole state with paramount authority. One of the kings in the time of Alexander was called Moeres.[2]

The states described above had little tendency to unity or combination. Curtius tells us[3] that Āmbhi, king of Taxila, was at war with Abisares and Poros. Arrian informs us that Poros and Abisares were not only enemies of Taxila but also of the neighbouring autonomous tribes. On one occasion the two kings marched against the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas.[4] Arrian further tells us that the relations between Poros and his nephew were far from friendly. Sambos and Mousikanos were also on hostile terms. Owing to these struggles and dissensions amongst the petty states, an invader had no common resistance to fear ; and he could be assured that many would welcome him out of hatred for their neighbours.

The Nandas of Magadha do not appear to have made any attempt to subjugate these states of the Uttarāpatha (North-west India). The task of reducing them was reserved for a foreign conqueror, *viz.*, Alexander of Macedon. The tale of Alexander's conquest has been told by many historians including Arrian, Q. Curtius Rufus, Diodoros Siculus, Plutarch and Justin. We learn from Curtius that Scythians

[1] Inv. Alex., p. 296.
[2] Inv. Alex., p. 256.
[3] Inv. Alex., p. 202.
[4] Chinnock, Arrian, p. 279.

and Dahae served in the Macedonian army.[1] The expedition led by Alexander was thus a combined Śaka-Yavana expedition. The invader met with no such general confederacy of the native powers like the one formed by the East Indian states against Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru. On the contrary he obtained assistance from many important chiefs like Āmbhi of Taxila, Sangæus (Sañjaya?) of Pushkarāvatî, Kophaios or Cophaeus (of the Kābul region?), Assagetes (Aśvajit?), and Sisikottos (Śaśîgupta) who got as his reward the satrapy of the Assakenians.[2] The only princes or peoples who thought of combining against the invader were Poros and Abisares, and the Mālavas (Malloi), Kshudrakas (Oxydrakai), and the neighbouring autonomous tribes. Even in the latter case personal jealousies prevented any effective results. Alexander met with stubborn resistance from individual chiefs and clans, notably from Astes (Hastî or Ashṭaka?), the Aspasians, the Assakenians, the elder Poros, the Kathaians, the Malloi, the Oxydrakai, and the Brāhmaṇas of the kingdom of Mousikanos. Massaga, the stronghold of the Assakenians, was stormed with great difficulty, Poros was defeated on the banks of the Hydaspes (B. C. 326), the Malloi and the Oxydrakai were also no doubt crushed. But Alexander found that his Indian antagonists were different from the effete troops of Persia. Diodoros informs us[3] that at Massaga, where Alexander treacherously massacred the mercenaries, "the women, taking the arms of the fallen, fought side by side with the men." Poros, when he saw most of his forces scattered, his elephants lying dead or straying riderless, did not flee—as Darius Codomannus had twice fled—but remained fighting, seated on an elephant of commanding height, and

[1] Inv. Alex., p. 208.
[2] Inv. Alex., p. 112.
[3] Inv. Alex., p. 270.

received nine wounds before he was taken prisoner.[1] The Malloi almost succeeded in killing the Macedonian king. But all this was of no avail. A disunited people could not long resist the united forces of the Hellenic world led by the greatest captain of ancient Europe. Alexander succeeded in conquering the old Persian satrapies of Gandhāra and "India," but was unable to try conclusions with Agrammes king of the Gangaridæ and the Prasii, *i.e.*, the last Nanda king of Magadha and the other Gangetic provinces. Plutarch informs us that the battle with Poros depressed the spirits of the Macedonians and made them very unwilling to advance further into India. Moreover they were afraid of the "Gandaritai and the Praisiai" who were reported to be waiting for Alexander with an army of 80,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 8,000 war-chariots and 6,000 fighting elephants. As a matter of fact when Alexander was retreating through Karmania he received a report that his satrap Philippos had been murdered. Shortly afterwards the Macedonian garrison was overpowered. The departure of Eudemos (*cir.* 317 B. C.) marks the final collapse of the Macedonian attempt to establish an empire in India.

The only permanent effect of Alexander's raid seems to have been the establishment of a number of Yona settlements in the Uttarāpatha. The most important of these settlements were :

1. The city of Alexandria (modern Charikar or Opian) in the land of the Parapanisadae, *i e.*, the Kābul region.
2. Boukephala, on the spot whence the Macedonian king had started to cross the Hydaspes (Jihlam).
3. Nikaia, where the battle with Poros took place.
4. Alexandria in Sind, in the vicinity of the countries of the Sodrai, or Sogdoi and Massanoi, who occupied the banks of the Indus.[2]

[1] *Cf.* Bury, Greece, pp. 428-429.
[2] Inv. Alex., pp. 293, 354.

Aśoka recognised the existence of Yona settlers on the northern fringe of his empire, and appointed some of them (*e.g.*, the Yavana-rāja Tushāspha) to high offices of state. Boukephala Alexandria flourished as late as the time of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.[1] One of the Alexandrias (Alasanda) is mentioned in the Mahāvaṁsa.[2]

Alexander's invasion produced one indirect result. It helped the cause of Indian unity by destroying the power of the petty states of north-west India, just as the Danish invasion helped the union of England under Wessex by destroying the independence of Northumbria and Mercia. If Ugrasena-Mahāpadma was the precursor of Chandragupta Maurya in the east, Alexander was the forerunner of that emperor in the north-west.

[1] Schoff's tr., p. 41.
[2] Geiger's tr , p. 194.

The Maurya Empire ; the Era of Digvijaya.

1. *The Reign of Chandragupta Maurya.*

Mlechchhairudvejyamānā bhujayugamadhunā saṁśritā rājamūrtteḥ
Sa Śrīmadbandhubhṛityaśchiramavatu mahīṁ pārthivaś Chandraguptaḥ.
—Mudrārākshasa

In B. C. 326 the flood of Macedonian invasion had overwhelmed the Indian states of the Pañjāb, and was threatening to burst upon the Madhyadeśa. Agrammes was confronted with a crisis not unlike that which Arminius had to face when Varus carried the Roman Eagle to the Teutoburg Forest, or which Charles Martel had to face when the Saracens carried the Crescent to the field of Tours. The question whether India was, or was not, to be Hellenized awaited decision.

Agrammes was fortunate enough to escape the onslaught of Alexander. But it is doubtful whether he had the ability or perhaps the inclination to play the part of an Arminius or a Charles Martel, had the occasion arisen. But there was at this time another Indian who was made of different stuff. This was Chandragupta, the Sandrocottus of the classical writers. The **rise of Chandragupta** is thus described by Justin.[1]

"India after the death of Alexander had shaken, as it were, the yoke of servitude from its neck and put his governors to death. The author of this liberation was

[1] Watson's tr., p. 142.

Sandrocottus. This man was of mean origin but was stimulated to aspire to regal power by supernatural encouragement ; for having offended Alexander by his boldness of speech and orders being given to kill him, he saved himself by swiftness of foot ; and while he was lying asleep, after his fatigue, a lion of great size having come up to him licked off with his tongue the sweat that was running from him, and after gently waking him, left him. Being first prompted by this prodigy to conceive hopes of royal dignity he drew together a band of robbers, and solicited the Indians to support his new sovereignty. Sometime after, as he was going to war with the generals of Alexander, a wild elephant of great bulk presented itself before him of its own accord and, as tamed down to gentleness, took him on his back and became his guide in the war and conspicuous in fields of battle. Sandrocottus having thus acquired a throne was in possession of India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness."

The above account, shorn of its marvellous element amounts to this, that Chandragupta, a man of non-monarchical rank, placed himself at the head of the Indians who chafed under the Macedonian yoke, and after Alexander's departure defeated his generals and " shook the yoke of servitude from the neck " of India. The verdict of the Hydaspes was thus reversed.

The **ancestry of Chandragupta** is not known for certain. Hindu literary tradition connects him with the Nanda dynasty of Magadha. Tradition recorded in Mediaeval inscriptions, however, represents the Maurya family from which he sprang as belonging to the solar race.[1] " From Māndhātṛi, a prince of that race, sprang the Maurya family." In the Rājputāna

[1] Ep. Ind., II. 222.

Gazetteer, II A, the *Mewar Residency*, compiled by Major K. D. Erskine (p. 14), the Moris (Mauryas) are described as a Rājput clan. Jaina tradition recorded in the Pariśishṭaparvan (p. 56) represents Chandragupta as the son of a daughter of the chief of the village of Mayūra-poshaka. The Mahāvaṁsa[1] calls him a scion of the Moriya (Maurya) clan. In the Divyāvadāna[2] Bindusāra, the son of Chandragupta, claims to be a Kshatriya Mūrdhābhishikta. In the same work (p. 409) Aśoka, the son of Bindusāra, calls himself a Kshatriya. In the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta[3] the Moriyas are represented as the ruling clan of Pipphalivana, and as belonging to the Kshatriya caste. As the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta is the most ancient of the works referred to above, and as it belongs to the early Buddhist period, its evidence must be accepted as authentic. It is, therefore, practically certain that Chandragupta belonged to a Kshatriya community, *viz.*, the Moriya (Maurya) clan.

In the sixth century B. C. the Moriyas were the ruling clan of the little republic of Pipphalivana. They must have been absorbed into the Magadhan empire along with the other states of Eastern India. During the inglorious reign of Agrammes, when there was general disaffection amongst his subjects, the Moriyas evidently came into prominence, probably under the leadership of Chandragupta. These clansmen were no longer rulers and were merely Magadhan subjects. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that Justin calls Chandragupta a man of humble origin. Plutarch, as well as Justin, informs us that Chandragupta paid a visit to Alexander. Plutarch says[4] "Androkottus himself, who was then a

[1] Geiger's Translation, p. 27.
[2] Cowell and Neil's Ed., p. 370.
[3] SBE., XI, pp. 134-135.
[4] Life of Alexander, LXII.

lad, saw Alexander himself and afterwards used to declare that Alexander might easily have conquered the whole country, as the then king was hated by his subjects on account of his mean and wicked disposition." From this passage it is not unreasonable to infer that Chandragupta visited Alexander with the intention of inducing the conqueror to put an end to the rule of the tyrant of Magadha. His conduct may be compared to that of Rāṇā Saṁgrāma Siṁha who invited Bābur to put an end to the rule of Ibrāhīm Lūdi.[1] Apparently Chandragupta found Alexander as great a tyrant as Agrammes, for we learn from Justin that the Macedonian king did not scruple to give orders to kill the intrepid Indian lad for his boldness of speech.[2] The young Maurya apparently thought of ridding his country of both the tyrants, Macedonian as well as Indian. With the help of Kauṭilya, also called Chāṇakya or Vishṇugupta, son of a Brāhmaṇa of Taxila, he overthrew the infamous Nanda. Traditional accounts of the conflict between Chandragupta and the last Nanda are preserved in the Milindapañho, the Purāṇas, the Mudrārākshasa, the Mahāvaṁsa Ṭikā and the Jaina Pariśishṭaparvan. The Milindapañho[3] tells us that the Nanda army was commanded by Bhaddasāla. The Nanda troops were evidently defeated with great slaughter, an exaggerated account of which is preserved in the Milindapañho.

"Sometime after" his acquisition of sovereignty, Chandragupta went to war with the prefects or generals of Alexander[4] and crushed their power.

[1] Regarding the conduct of Saṁgrāma Siṁha, see Tod's *Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 240. n. (2). Anne Susannah Beveridge, the Bābur-nāma in English, Vol. II, p. 529.

[2] The substitution of 'Nanda' for Alexander cannot be justified.

[3] SBE., Vol. XXXVI, p. 147.

[4] *Cf.* Smith, Aśoka, third edition, p. 14 n.

The overthrow of the Nandas, and the **liberation of the Pañjāb** were not the only achievements of the great Maurya. Plutarch tells us[1] that he overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000 men. Justin also informs us that he was "in possession of India." In his "Beginnings of South Indian History," Chapter II, Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar says that Māmulanār, an ancient Tamil author, makes frequent allusions to the Mauryas in the past having penetrated with a great army as far as the Podiyil Hill in the Tinnevelly district. The statements of this author are said to be supported by Paraṇar or Param Koṛṛanār and Kallil Āttiraiyanār. The advanced party of the invasion was composed of a warlike people called Kosar (Kośalas?). The invaders advanced from the Konkan passing the hills Elilmalai, about sixteen miles north of Cannanore, and entered the Kongu (Coimbatore) district, ultimately going as far as the Podiyil Hill. Unfortunately the name of the Maurya leader is not given. But the expression "Vamba Moriyar" or Maurya upstarts[2] would seem to suggest that the first Maurya, *i.e.*, Chandragupta and his adherents, were meant.[3]

Certain Mysore Inscriptions refer to Chandragupta's rule in north Mysore. Thus one inscription says that Nāgakhaṇḍa in the Shikārpur Tāluq was protected by the wise Chandragupta, "an abode of the usages of eminent Kshatriyas."[4] This is of the fourteenth century and little reliance can be placed upon it. But when the statements of Plutarch, Justin, Māmulanār, and the Mysore

[1] Alex. LXII.

[2] Beginnings of South Indian History, p. 89.

[3] Barnett suggests (Camb. Hist. Ind., 596) that the 'Vamba Moriyar' or 'Bastard Mauryas' were possibly a branch of the Konkani Mauryas. For other suggestions, see JRAS., 1923, pp. 93-96. Some Tamil scholars hold that "the Moriyar were not allowed to enter Tamilakam, and the last point they reached was the Venkaṭa hill" (IHQ., 1928, p. 145). They also reject Prof. Aiyangar's statement about the Kośar.

[4] Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 10.

inscriptions referred to by Rice, are read together, they seem to suggest that the first Maurya did conquer a considerable portion of trans-Vindhyan India.

Whatever we may think of Chandragupta's connection with Southern India, there can be no doubt that he pushed his **conquests as far as Surāshtra** in Western India. The Junāgaḍh Rock inscription of the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman refers to his Rāshṭriya or High Commissioner, Pushyagupta, the Vaiśya, who constructed the famous Sudarśana Lake.[1]

(2) The Seleukidan War.

We learn from Justin[2] that when Chandragupta was in possession of India Seleukos (Seleucus), a general of Alexander, was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleukos was the son of Antiochos, a distinguished general of Philip of Macedon, and his wife Laodice. After the division of the Macedonian Empire among the followers of Alexander he carried on several wars in the east. He first took Babylon, and then his strength being increased by this success, subdued the Bactrians. He next made an expedition into India. Appianus says[3] that he crossed the Indus and waged war on Chandragupta, king of the Indians, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him. Justin also observes that after making a league with Chandragupta, and settling his affairs in the east, Seleukos proceeded to join in the war against Antigonos. Plutarch supplies us with the information that Chandragupta presented 500 elephants to Seleukos.

[1] The subjugation of the whole of Northern India (Udichi) from the Himālayas to the sea is probably suggested by the following passage in the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra (IX. 1), "Deśaḥ Pṛithivī; tasyāṁ Himavat Samudrāntaram Udichīnaṁ yojanasahasra parimānam atiryak Chakravarti-Kshetram."

[2] Watson's tr., p. 143.

[3] Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 114.

More important details are given by Strabo who says :[1]

"The Indians occupy (in part) some of the countries situated along the Indus, which formerly belonged to the Persians : Alexander deprived the Ariani of them, and established there settlements of his own. But Seleucus Nicator gave them to Sandrocottus in consequence of a marriage contract, and received in turn 500 elephants." "The Indians occupied a larger portion of Ariana, which they had received from the Macedonians."[2]

It will be seen that the classical writers do not give us any detailed record of the actual conflict between Seleukos and Chandragupta. They merely speak of the results. There can be no doubt that the invader could not make much headway, and concluded an alliance which was cemented by a marriage contract. In his *Asoka*[3] Dr. Smith rightly observes that the current notion that the Syrian king 'gave his daughter in marriage' to Chandragupta is not warranted by the evidence, which testifies merely to a 'matrimonial alliance.' The Indian Emperor obtained some of the countries situated along the Indus which formerly belonged to the Persians, together with the larger portion of Ariana, "giving in exchange the comparatively small recompense of 500 elephants." Dr. Smith adduces good grounds for believing that the territory ceded by the Syrian king included the four satrapies : Aria, Arachosia, Gedrosia and the Paropanisadai, *i.e.*, Herat, Kandahār, Makrān and Kābul. The inclusion of the Kābul valley within the Maurya Empire is proved by the inscriptions of Aśoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, which speak of the Yonas and Gandhāras as vassals of the Empire.

[1] H. & F., III, p. 125.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 78.
[3] Third Ed., p. 15.

Megasthenes.

We learn from the classical writers that after the war the Syrian and Indian Emperors lived on friendly terms. Athenaios tells us that Chandragupta sent presents including certain powerful aphrodisiacs to the Syrian monarch.[1] Seleukos sent an envoy to the Maurya court, whose name was Megasthenes. Arrian tells us[2] that Megasthenes originally lived with Sibyrtios, the satrap of Arachosia. He was sent from thence to Pāṭaliputra where he often visited the Maurya Emperor, and wrote a history on Indian affairs. The work of Megasthenes has been lost. The fragments that survive in quotations by later authors like Strabo, Arrian, Diodorus and others, have been collected by Schwanbeck, and translated by McCrindle. As Professor Rhys Davids observes, Megasthenes possessed very little critical judgment, and was, therefore, often misled by wrong information received from others. But he is a truthful witness concerning matters which came under his personal observation. The most important piece of information supplied by him is, as Rhys Davids has pointed out, the **description of Pāṭaliputra** which Arrian quotes in Chapter X of his Indica :

"The largest city in India, named Palimbothra, is in the land of the Prasians, where is the confluence of the river Erannobaos[3] and the Ganges, which is the greatest of rivers. The Erannobaos would be third of the Indian rivers.....Megasthenes says that on the side where it is longest this city extends 80 stades (9½ miles) in length, and that its breadth is fifteen (1¾ miles); that the city has been surrounded with a ditch in breadth 6

[1] Inv. Alex., p. 405.

[2] Chinnock's tr., p. 254.

[3] Erannobaos = Hiraṇyavâha, *i.e.*, the Son. *Cf.* "Anuśonaṁ Pāṭaliputraṁ" (Patañjali, II, 1.2).

plethra (606 feet), and in depth 30 cubits; and that its wall has 570 towers and 64 gates." [1]

There were many other cities in the empire besides Pāṭaliputra. Arrian says "it would not be possible to record with accuracy the number of their cities on account of their multiplicity. Those which are situated near the rivers or the sea are built of wood; for if they were built of brick they could not long endure on account of the rain and because the rivers overflowing their banks fill the plains with water. But those which have been founded in commanding places, lofty and raised above the adjacent country, are built of brick and mortar." The most important cities of Chandragupta's empire, besides the metropolis, were Taxila, Ujjain and Kauśāmbī.

Ælian gives the following account of the **palace of Chandragupta**. "In the Indian royal palace[2] where the greatest of all the kings of the country resides, besides much else which is calculated to excite admiration, and with which neither Susa, nor Ekbatana can vie (for, methinks, only the well-known vanity of the Persians could prompt such a comparison), there are other wonders besides. In the parks tame peacocks are kept, and pheasants which have been domesticated; there are shady groves and pasture grounds planted with trees, and branches of trees which the art of the woodsman has deftly interwoven; while some trees are native to the soil, others are brought from other parts, and with their beauty enhance the charms of the landscape. Parrots are natives of the country, and keep hovering about the king and wheeling round him, and vast though their numbers be, no Indian ever eats a parrot. The Brachmans honour them highly above all other birds—because the parrot alone can

[1] *Cf.* Patañjali, IV. 3.2, "Pāṭaliputrakāḥ prāsādāḥ Pāṭaliputrakāḥ prākārā iti."

[2] The "Sugāṅga" palace was the favourite resort of Chandragupta (JRAS, 1923, 587).

imitate human speech. Within the palace grounds are artificial ponds in which they keep fish of enormous size but quite tame. No one has permission to fish for these except the king's sons while yet in their boyhood. These youngsters amuse themselves while fishing in the unruffled sheet of water and learning how to sail their boats." [1]

The imperial palace probably stood close to the modern village of Kumrahār.[2] The unearthing of the ruins of the Maurya pillar-hall and palace near Kumrahār, said to have been built on the model of the throne room and palace of Darius at Persepolis, has led Dr. Spooner to propound the theory that the Mauryas were Zoroastrians.[3] Dr. Smith observes that the resemblance of the Maurya buildings with the Persian palace at Persepolis is not yet definitely established. Besides, as Professor Chanda observes, "Ethnologists do not recognize high class architecture as test of race, and in the opinion of experts the buildings of Darius and Xerxes at Persepolis are not Persian in style, but are mainly dependent on Babylonian models and bear traces of the influence of Greece, Egypt and Asia Minor."

We learn from Strabo [4] that the king usually remained within the palace under the protection of **female guards** (*cf.*, strî gaṇair dhanvibhiḥ of the Arthaśāstra) and appeared in public only on four occasions, *viz.*, in time of war ; to sit in his court as a judge; to offer sacrifice; and to go on hunting expeditions.

Chandragupta's Government.

Chandragupta was not only a great soldier and conqueror, he was a great administrator. Megasthenes, the

[1] McCrindle, Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, pp. 141-42.
[2] Smith, The Oxford History of India, p. 77. Macphail, *Aśoka*, pp. 23-25.
[3] J.R.A.S., 1915, pp. 63 ff., 405 ff.
[4] H. & F.'s Ed., Vol. III, p. 106; *cf.* Smith, EHI., p. 123.

Greek ambassador at his court, has left detailed accounts of his system of government The edicts of his grandson Aśoka and the *Arthaśāstra* attributed to his minister Kauṭilya confirm in many respects the particulars of the organisation of the empire given by the distinguished envoy.

The supreme Government consisted of two main parts :

1. The Rājā, and
2. the "**Councillors**" and "**Assessors**" (Mahāmātras, and Amātyas or Sachivas).

The Rājā or sovereign was the head of the state. He had military, judicial, legislative, as well as executive functions. We have already seen that one of the occasions when he left his palace was **war.**[1] He considered plans of military operations with his Senāpati.[2]

He also sat in his **court to administer justice**. "He remains there all day thus occupied, not suffering himself to be interrupted even though the time arrives for attending to his person. This attention to his person consists of friction with pieces of wood, and he continues to listen to the cause, while the friction is performed by four attendants who surround him."[3] Kauṭilya says,[4] "when in the court, he (the king) shall never cause his petitioners to wait at the door, for when a king makes himself inaccessible to his people and entrusts his work to his immediate officers, he may be sure to engender confusion in business, and to cause thereby public disaffection, and himself a prey to his enemies. He shall, therefore, personally attend to the business of gods, of heretics, of Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas, of cattle, of sacred places, of minors, the aged, the afflicted, the helpless and of women;—all this in order

[1] *Cf.* Strabo, XV. i ; and Kauṭilya, Bk. X. [2] Kauṭ., p. 38.
[3] H. & F., Strabo, III, pp. 106-107. [4] Shamasastry's translation, p. 43.

(of enumeration) or according to the urgency or pressure of those works. All urgent calls he shall hear at once."

As to the king's legislative function we should note that Kauṭilya [1] calls him "dharma-pravartaka," and includes **Rājaśāsana** among the sources of law. As instances of royal "Śāsanas" or rescripts may be mentioned the Edicts of Aśoka, the famous grandson of Chandragupta.

Among **executive functions** of the king, our authorities mention the posting of watchmen, attending to the accounts of receipts and expenditure, appointment of ministers, priests and superintendents, correspondence with the Mantriparishad, collection of the secret information gathered by spies, reception of envoys, etc.[2]

Kauṭilya holds that Rājatva (sovereignty) is possible only with assistance.[3] A single wheel can never move. Hence the king shall employ Sachivas and hear their opinion. The **Sachivas** or **Amātyas** of Kauṭilya correspond to the "seventh caste" of Megasthenes which assisted the king in deliberating on public affairs. This class was small in numbers, but in wisdom and justice excelled all the others.[4]

The most important amongst the Sachivas or Amātyas were undoubtedly the **Mantrins** or High Ministers, probably corresponding to the **Mahāmātras** of Aśoka's Rock Edict VI, and the "advisers of the king" referred to by Diodorus (II. 41). They were selected from those Amātyas whose character had been tested under all kinds of allurements.[5] They were given the highest salary,

[1] Bk. III, Chap. I.

[2] Kauṭilya, Bk. I, Ch. XVI; XVIII; Bk. VIII, Ch. I. *Cf.* Aśoka's Rock Edicts III (regulation about *alpa-vyayatā* and *alpa-bhāṇḍatā*), V (appointment of high officials), VI (relations with the *Parishad*, and collection of information from the *Paṭivedakā*), and XIII (diplomatic relations with foreign powers).

[3] *Cf.* Manu, VII. 55.

[4] Chinnock, Arrian, p. 413.

[5] Sarvopadhā śuddān Mantrinaḥ kuryāt.—Arthaśāstra, p. 17. For *upadhā* see also the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Skanda Gupta.

viz., 48,000 paṇas per annum.[1] They assisted the king in examining the character of the Amātyas who were employed in ordinary departments.[2] All kinds of administrative measures were preceded by consultation with three or four of them.[3] In works of emergency (ātyāyike kārye) they were summoned along with the Mantriparishad.[4] They exercised a certain amount of control over the Imperial Princes.[5] They accompanied the king to the battle-field, and gave encouragement to the troops.[6] Kauṭilya was evidently one of these Mantrins. Another minister (or Pradeshṭṛi ?) was apparently Maniyatappo, a Jaṭilian, who helped the king to "confer the blessings of peace on the country by extirpating marauders who were like unto thorns."[7] That there were at times more than one Mantrin is proved by the use of the plural Mantrinaḥ.

In addition to the Mantrins there was the **Mantriparishad**, *i.e.* Assembly of Councillors or Council of Ministers. The existence of the Parishad as an important element of the Maurya constitution is proved by the third and sixth Rock Edicts of Aśoka. The members of the Mantriparishad were not identical with the Mantrins. In several passages of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra the Mantrins are sharply distinguished from the Mantriparishad.[8] The latter evidently occupied an inferior position. Their salary was only 12,000 paṇas, whereas the salary of a Mantrin was 48,000. They do not appear to have been consulted on ordinary occasions, but were summoned along with the Mantrins when Ātyāyika kārya, *i.e.*, works of emergency had to be transacted. The king was to be guided by the decision of the majority (Bhūyishṭhāḥ).

[1] Kauṭilya, p. 247.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 16.
[3] *Ibid*, pp. 26, 28.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 29. *Cf.* Aśoka's Rock Edict VI.
[5] *Ibid*, p. 333. *Cf.* the Kumārāmātyas of the Gupta period.
[6] *Ibid*, p. 368.
[7] Turnour's Mahāvaṁsa, p. xliii.
[8] *Cf.* pp. 20, 29, 247.

They also attended the king at the time of the reception of envoys (p. 45). From the passage "Mantriparishadaṁ dvādaśāmātyān kurvîta" it appears that the Parishad used to be recruited from all kinds of Amātyas (not necessarily from Mantrins). From Kauṭilya's denunciation of a king with a "Kshudraparishad" (p. 259), his rejection of the views of the Mānavas, Bārhaspatyas and the Auśanasas, his preference for an "Akshudra-parishad," and his reference to Indra's Parishad of a thousand Rishis, it may be presumed that he wanted to provide for the needs of a growing empire, and prevailed upon his master to constitute a fairly big assembly.

Besides the Mantrins and the Mantriparishad, there was another class of Amātyas who filled the **great administrative and judicial appointments**,[1] Kauṭilya says (p. 17) that the "dharmopadhāśuddha" Amātyas should be employed in **civil**[2] and **criminal**[3] **courts**; the "arthopadhāśuddha" Amātyas should be employed as Samāhartṛi ("Chancellor of the Exchequer and Minister of the Interior") and Sannidhātṛi (High Treasurer and Keeper of Stores);[4] the "kāmopadhāśuddha" Amātyas should be appointed to superintend the pleasure grounds, the "bhayopadhāśuddha" Amātyas should be appointed to immediate service (āsanna kārya), while those who are proved impure should be employed in mines, timber and elephant forests,[5] and manufactories. Untried Amātyas were to be employed

[1] *Cf.* the *Karma-Sachivas* of the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman.

[2] Civil (Dharmasthīya) Courts were established "in the cities of Saṅgrahaṇa (in the midst of a collection of ten villages), Droṇamukha (in the centre of four hundred villages), Sthāniya (in the centre of eight hundred villages), and at places where districts met (Janapada-sandhi)," and consisted of three Dharmasthas and three Amātyas.

[3] A Criminal (Kaṇṭakaśodhana) Court consisted of 3 Amātyas, or 3 Pradeshṭṛis.

[4] For the duties of these officers see Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, Bk. II, 5-6, 35; Bk. IV, 4; Bk. V, 2. For the Revenue system under the Mauryas, see Ghoshal, Hindu Revenue System, pp. 165 f.

[5] *Cf.* Nāgavana of Pillar Edict V.

in ordinary departments (sāmānya adhikaraṇa). Persons endowed with the qualifications required in an Amātya (Amātya sampadopeta) were appointed Nisṛishṭārthāḥ or Ministers Plenipotentiary, Lekhakas or Ministers of Correspondence, and Adhyakshas or Superintendents.

The statements of Kauṭilya regarding the employment of Amātyas as the chief executive and judicial officers of the realm, are confirmed by the classical writers. Strabo, for example, observes,[1] "the seventh caste consists of counsellors and assessors (Symbouloi and Synedroi) of the king. To these persons belong the offices of state, tribunals of justice, and the whole administration of affairs." Arrian also says, "from them are chosen their rulers, governors of provinces, deputies, treasurers, generals, admirals, controllers of expenditure, and superintendents of agriculture."

The **Adhyakshas** who formed the pivot of the Maurya administration, are evidently referred to by Strabo as Magistrates in the following passage :

"Of the **Magistrates**, some have the charge of the market,[2] others of the city, others of the soldiery.[3] Some[4] have the care of the rivers, measure the land, as in Egypt, and inspect the closed **reservoirs, from which water is distributed** by canals, so that all may have an equal use of it. These persons have charge also of the hunters, and have the power of rewarding or punishing those who merit either. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as wood-cutters, carpenters, workers in brass, and miners. They superintend the public **roads,** and place a **pillar at every ten stadia** to indicate the by-ways and distances. **Those who have charge of the**

[1] H. & F., Vol. III, p. 103. *Cf.* Diodorus, II. 41.

[2] "District" according to the Cambridge History of India, I, 417.

[3] *Cf.* the *Durga-rāshṭra-daṇḍa-mukhyas* of Kauṭilya, Bk. XIII, Chs. III and V.

[4] *i.e.*, the district officials (Agronomoi).

city (astynomoi) are divided into six bodies of five each.[1] Next to the Magistrates of the city is a third body of **governors, who have the care of military affairs.** This class also consists of six divisions each composed of five persons." [2]

The Magistrates in charge of the city and those in charge of military affairs are evidently the same as the **Nagarādhyakshas** and **Balādhyakshas** of the Arthaśāstra.[3] Dr. Smith remarks,[4] "the Boards described by Megasthenes as in charge of the business of the capital and the army are unknown to the author (Kauṭilya), who contemplated each such charge as the duty of a single officer. The creation of the Boards may have been an innovation effected by Chandragupta personally." But the historian overlooks the fact that Kauṭilya distinctly says, "Bahumukhyaṁ anityaṁ chādhikaraṇaṁ sthāpayet," each department shall be officered by several temporary heads;[5] "Adhyakshāḥ Sankhyāyaka-Lekhaka-Rūpadarśaka-Nîvîgrāhak-Ottarādhyaksha-sakhāḥ karmāṇi kuryuḥ." Evidently Dr. Smith notices only the Adhyakshas but ignores the existence of the Uttarādhyakshas and others. As in regard to the Arthaśāstra Smith notices only the

[1] Each body was responsible for one of the following departments, *viz.*, (1) the mechanical arts, (2) foreign residents, (3) registration of births and deaths, (4) sales, exchanges, weights and measures, (5) supervision of manufactured articles and (6) collection of tithes on sales.

[2] Each division or Board was responsible for one of the following departments, *viz.*, the navy, transport and commissariat (*cf. Vishṭi Karmāṇi* of Kauṭilya Bk. X, Ch. IV), the infantry, the cavalry, the chariots and the elephants. In the Śāntiparva the divisions are stated to be six (CIII. 38) or eight (LIX. 41-42):

Rathā Nāgā Hayāśchaiva Pādātāśchaiva Pāṇḍava
Vishṭir Nāvaś Charāśchaiva Deśikā iti chāshṭamam
Aṓgānyetāni Kauravya prakāśāni balasya tu.

The Raghuvaṁśa (IV. 26) refers to Shaḍvidham balam.

[3] Mysore Ed., 1919, p. 55. Nagara-Dhānya-Vyāvahārika-Kārmāntika-Balādhyakshāḥ. *Cf.* Balapradhānā and Nigamapradhānāḥ of Mbh., V. 2. 6.

[4] EHI., 1914, p. 141. *Cf.* Monahan, *Early History of Bengal*, pp. 157-64, and Stein, *Megasthenes und Kauṭilya*, pp. 233 ff.

[5] Arthaśāstra, 1919, p. 69. On page 57 we have the following passage—**Hasty-aśva-ratha-padātam-aneka-mukhyam-avasthāpayet**, *i.e.*, elephants, cavalry, chariots, and infantry shall each be placed under many chiefs.

Adhyakshas, so in regard to the classical accounts he takes note only of the Boards, but ignores the chiefs who are expressly mentioned in two passages,[1] *viz.*—

"One division is associated with the *Chief Naval Superintendent*," "another (division) is associated with the *person who has the charge of the bullock-teams*." The Chief Naval Superintendent and the Person in Charge of the Bullock-teams, doubtless, correspond to the Nāvadhyaksha and Go'dhyaksha of the Arthaśāstra. It is a mistake to think that the Nāvadhyaksha of the early Hindu period was a purely civil official, for he was responsible for the destruction of *Himsrikās*, and the Mahābhārata (XII. lix, 41-42) clearly refers to the navy as one of the *aṅgas* of the Royal Forces. The civil duties of the Nāvadhyaksha have their counterpart in those of Megasthenes' Admiral relating to the "letting out of ships on hire for the transport both of passengers and merchandize."[2]

The central popular assemblies like those that existed among the Lichchhavis, Mallas, Śākyas and other Saṅghas had no place in the Maurya constitution. The custom of summoning a great assembly of Grāmikas seems also to have fallen into disuse.

Provincial Government.

The Empire was divided into a number of provinces, because "No single administration could support the Atlantean load." The exact number of provinces in Chandragupta's time is unknown. In the time of his grandson Aśoka there were at least five, *viz.*:

1. Uttarāpatha[3] ... capital, Taxila
2. Avanti raṭṭha[4] ... ,, Ujjayinī

[1] H. & F., Strabo, III, p. 104.
[2] Strabo, XV. 1. 46.
[3] Divyāvadāna, p. 407.
[4] Mahābodhivaṁsa, p. 98.

3.	Dakshiṇāpatha	...	Capital, Suvarṇagiri (?)
4.	Kaliṅga	...	,, Tosali
5.	Prāchya (Prasii)	...	,, Pāṭaliputra

Of these only the first two and the last one can be said, with any amount of certainty, to have formed parts of Chandragupta's Empire. But, it is not altogether improbable that Dakshiṇāpatha, too, was one of Chandragupta's provinces. The outlying provinces were ruled by princes of the blood royal who were styled Kumāras. We learn from Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (p. 247) that the salary of a Kumāra was 12,000 paṇas per annum.

The Home Provinces, *i.e.*, Prāchya and the Madhyadeśa, were directly ruled by the Emperor himself with the assistance of Mahāmātras stationed in important cities like Pāṭaliputra, Kauśāmbî, etc.

Besides the Imperial Provinces Maurya India included a number of territories which enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy. Arrian refers to **cities which enjoyed a democratic Government.**[1] Kauṭilya (p. 378) refers to a number of **Saṅghas**, *e.g.*, Kamboja, Surāshṭra, etc. The Kambojas find prominent mention as a separate unit even in the Thirteenth Rock edict of Aśoka. That Surāshṭra was autonomous in the time of Aśoka seems probable from Rudradāman's inscription at Junāgaḍh which refers to its Rājā, the Yavana Tushāspha, the contemporary and vassal of Aśoka. The Yavanarāja was probably a Greek chief of the North-West who was appointed *Mukhya* of the Surāshṭra Saṅgha by Aśoka, just as Rājā Mānsingh of Amber was appointed *Sūbahdār* of Bengal by Akbar. His title of Rājā probably indicates that he enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy. His relations with Aśoka remind us of the relationship subsisting between the Rājā of the Śākya state and Pasenadi. In the time of the first

[1] Chinnock, Arrian, p. 413.

Maurya Surāshṭra had an officer named Pushyagupta, the Vaiśya, who is described as a Rāshṭriya of Chandragupta. In the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I, p. 13, the word Rāshṭriya was taken to mean a brother-in-law. Kielhorn, however in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, p. 46, took the term to mean a provincial Governor. This meaning does not seem to be quite satisfactory because we have already seen that Surāshṭra was very probably an autonomous vassal state, and not an Imperial Province. A Rāshṭriya seems to have been a sort of Imperial High Commissioner, and the position of Pushyagupta in Surāshṭra was probably like that of Lord Cromer in Egypt. Neither the Arthaśāstra nor the edicts of Aśoka mention any class of officials called Rāshṭriya. It is, however, probable, that the Rāshṭriya was identical with the Rāshṭrapāla whose salary was equal to that of a Kumāra.[1]

Overseers and Spies.

The classical writers refer to a class of men called Overseers (Episkopoi) who "overlook what is done throughout the country and in the cities, and make report to the king where the Indians are ruled by a king, or the magistrates where the people have a democratic Government."[2] Strabo calls this class of men the Ephori or Inspectors. "They are," says he, "intrusted with the superintendence of all that is going on, and it is their duty to report privately to the king...The best and the most faithful persons are appointed to the office of Inspector."[3] The overseers of Arrian and the Inspectors of Strabo probably correspond either to the Pradeshṭṛis or to the Gūḍha-Purushas of the Arthaśāstra. Dr. Thomas derives the word Pradeshṭṛi

[1] Arthaśāstra, p. 247. For Rāshṭriya, see also Mbh., XII. 86, 12; 87. 9.
[2] Chinnock, Arrian, p. 413.
[3] H. & F., Strabo, III, p. 103.

If the Pariśishṭaparvan of Hemachandra is to be believed Chandragupta had a queen named Durdharā who became the mother of Bindusāra, the son who succeeded him on the throne. In the absence of corroborative evidence, however, the name of the queen cannot be accepted as genuine.

II. The Reign of Bindusāra.

Chandragupta Maurya was succeeded in or about the year 298 B.C. by his son Bindusāra Amitraghāta. The name or title Amitraghāta (slayer of foes) is a restoration in Sanskrit[1] of the Amitrachates of Athenaios, and Allitrochades of Strabo, who is stated to have been the son of Sandrocottus. Dr. Fleet prefers the rendering Amitrakhāda or devourer of enemies, which is said to occur as an epithet of Indra.[2] In the Rājāvalîkathe the name of Chandragupta's son and successor is given as Simha-sena. From Aśoka's Rock Edict VIII (Kālsî Text) it appears probable that Bindusāra, as well as other predecessors of Aśoka, used the style Devānaṁpiya.

If Hemachandra and Tāranātha are to be believed, Kauṭilya or Chāṇakya continued to serve as minister for some time after the accession of Bindusāra.[3] "Chānaka," says Tāranātha, "one of his (Bindusāra's) great lords, procured the destruction of the nobles and kings of sixteen towns, and as king he made himself master of all the

[1] *Cf.* Lassen, and Cunn. (Bhilsa Topes, p. 92). The term Amitraghāta occurs in Patañjali's Mahābhāshya, III. 2. 2. Dr. Jarl Charpentier observes (in *Le Monde Oriental*, quoted in *Calcutta Review*, May-June, 1926, p. 393), "that the Greek word Αμιτροχατης as a synonym of Bindusāra, should be rendered Amitrag' āta seems c'ear not only from the Mahābhāṣya but also from the royal title *amitrāṇāṁhantā* in Ait. Br., VIII. 17." In JRAS., 1928, January, however, he prefers to restore Amitrochates as Amitrakhāda (p. 135). *Cf.* Rig-veda, X. 152.1.

[2] JRAS., 1909, p. 24.

[3] Jacobi, Pariśishṭaparvan, p. 62; Ind. Ant., 1875, p. 364. For the alleged connection of Bindusāra with another minister named Subandhu, the author of the Vāsavadattā Nāṭyadhārā, see Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference, pp. 208-11.

territory between the eastern and western seas." The conquest of the territory between the eastern and western seas has been taken by some scholars to refer to the annexation of the Deccan.[1] But we should not forget that already in the time of Chandragupta the Maurya Empire extended from Surāshṭra to Bengal (Gangaridæ), *i.e.*, from the western to the eastern sea. Tāranātha's statement need mean nothing more than the suppression of a general revolt. No early tradition expressly connects the name of Bindusāra with the conquest of the Deccan.[2] The story of the subjugation of sixteen towns may or may not be true, but we are told in the Divyāvadāna[3] that at least one town of note, *viz.*, Taxila, revolted during the reign of Bindusāra. The king is said to have despatched Aśoka there. While the prince was nearing Taxila with his troops the people came out to meet him, and said "we are not opposed to the prince, nor even to king Bindusāra, but the wicked ministers (Dushṭāmātyāḥ) insult us." The high-handedness of the Maurya officials in the outlying provinces is alluded to by Aśoka himself in his Kaliṅga Edict.[4] Addressing his Mahāmātras the Emperor says :

"All men are my children : and, just as I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the next, so also I desire the same for all men. *You, however, do not grasp this truth* to its full extent. Some individual, perchance, pays heed, but to a part only, not the whole. See then to this, for the principle of government is well established. Again, *it happens that some individual incurs imprisonment*

[1] *Cf.* Smith, EHI., p. 149, JRAS., 1919, 598 ; Jayaswal, *The Empire of Bindusāra*, JBORS., ii. 82.

[2] See however, Subramaṇiam. JRAS., 1923, p. 96. "My Guru's Guru had written in his commentary on a Sangam work that the Tuḷu-nāda was established by the son of Chandragupta," perhaps Tuliyan (Tuli = Bindu).

[3] Cowell and Neil's Ed., p. 371.

[4] Smith, Aśoka, third edition, pp. 194-95.

or torture, and when the result is his imprisonment without due cause, *many other people are deeply grieved.* In such a case you must desire to do justice...and for this purpose, in accordance with the Law of Piety, I shall send forth in rotation every five years such persons (Mahāmātras) as are of mild and temperate disposition, and regardful of the sanctity of life, who knowing this my purpose will comply with my instructions. From Ujjain, however, the Prince for this purpose will send out a similar body of officials, and will not over-pass three years. *In the same way from Taxila.*''

Foreign Relations.

In his relations with the Hellenistic powers Bindusāra pursued a pacific policy. We learn from the classical writers (*e.g.*, Strabo) that the king of Syria despatched to his court an ambassador named Deïmachos. Pliny[1] tells us that (Ptolemy) Philadelphos, King of Egypt, sent an envoy named Dionysios. Dr. Smith, however, points out that it is uncertain whether Dionysios presented his credentials to Bindusāra or to his son and successor, Aśoka. The same historian says[2] that Patrokles, an officer who served under both Seleukos and his son, sailed in the Indian seas and collected much geographical information which Strabo and Pliny were glad to utilize. Athenaios tells an anecdote of private friendly correspondence between Antiochos, king of Syria, and Bindusāra which indicates that the Indian monarch communicated with his Hellenistic contemporaries on terms of equality and friendliness. We are told that Amitrochates (Bindusāra), the king of the Indians, wrote to Antiochos asking that king to buy and send him sweet wine, dried figs, and a sophist, and Antiochos replied: we shall send you the figs and the wine, but in Greece the laws forbid a Sophist to be sold.[3]

[1] McCrindle, Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, p. 108.

[2] Aśoka, third edition, p. 19. [3] McCrindle, Inv. Alex., p. 409.

Bindusāra's Family.

Bindusāra had many children besides Aśoka, the son who succeeded him on the throne. We learn from a passage of the Fifth Rock Edict in which the duties of the Dharma-mahāmātras are described, that Aśoka had many brothers and sisters. The Divyāvadāna mentions two of these brothers, namely, Susīma and Vigatāśoka. The Ceylonese Chronicles seem also to refer to these two princes though under different names, calling the former Sumana and the latter Tishya. Susīma-Sumana is said to have been the eldest son of Bindusāra and a step-brother of Aśoka, while Vigatāśoka-Tishya is reputed to have been the youngest son of Bindusāra and a uterine brother of Aśoka, born of a Brāhmaṇa girl named Subhadrāṅgī. Hiuen Tsang mentions a brother of Aśoka named Mahendra. Ceylonese tradition, however, represents the latter as a son of Aśoka.

Bindusāra died after a reign of 25 years according to the Purāṇas, and 28 years according to the Ceylonese Chronicles. According to Dr. Smith's chronology his reign terminated about 273 B.C.[1] If the Ceylonese account be correct, the date of his accession was about 301 and not 298 B.C.

III. The Early Years of Aśoka.

Both the Divyāvadāna and the Ceylonese Chronicles agree that there was a **fratricidal struggle** after the death of Bindusāra. Aśoka is said to have overthrown his eldest step-brother with the help of Rādhagupta whom he made his Agrāmātya (Chief Minister). Dr. Smith observes,[2] "the fact that his formal consecration or coronation (abhisheka) was delayed for some four years[3] until 269 B.C., confirms

[1] Aśoka, p. 73.
[2] The Oxford History of India, p. 93.
[3] Mahāvaṁsa, Geiger's translation, p. 28.

the tradition that his succession was contested, and it may be true that his rival was an elder brother named Susîma." In his Aśoka (third edition) published a few months later, he says, " it is possible that the long delay may have been due to a disputed succession involving much bloodshed, but there is no independent evidence of such a struggle." Mr. Jayaswal [1] gives the following explanation for the delay in Aśoka's coronation : " It seems that in those days for obtaining royal abhisheka [2] the age of 25 was a condition precedent. This seems to explain why Aśoka was not crowned for three or four years after accession."

Dr. Smith characterises [3] the Ceylonese tales which relate that Aśoka slew many of his brothers as silly because Aśoka certainly had brothers and sisters alive in the seventeenth and eighteenth year of his reign, whose households were objects of his anxious care. But we should remember that the Fifth Rock Edict refers only to the female establishments of his brothers (olodhanesu bhātinaṁ) as existing. This does not necessarily imply that the brothers also were alive. We should, however, admit that there is nothing to show, on the contrary, that the brothers were dead. The Fifth Rock Edict, in our opinion, proves nothing regarding the authenticity or untrustworthiness of the Ceylonese tradition.

The first four years of Aśoka's reign is, to quote the words which Dr. Smith uses in another connection, " one of the dark spaces in the spectrum of Indian history ; vague speculation, unchecked by the salutary limitations of verified fact, is, at the best, unprofitable."

Like his predecessors [4] Aśoka assumed the title of

[1] JBORS., 1917, p. 438.

[2] There were other kinds of abhisheka also, *e.g.*, those of Yuvarāja, Kumāra, and Senāpati.

[3] EHI., p. 155.

[4] *Cf.* Rock Edict VIII, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsahra Texts.

Devānaṁpiya. He generally described himself as Devānaṁpiya Piyadasi.[1] The name Aśoka is found only in literature, and in two ancient inscriptions, *viz.*, the Māski Edict of Aśoka himself, and the Junāgaḍh inscription of the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman I. The name Dharmāśoka is found in one Mediæval epigraph, *viz.*, the Sārnāth inscription of Kumāradevî.[2]

During the first thirteen years of his reign Aśoka seems to have carried on the traditional Maurya policy of expansion within India, and of friendly co-operation with the foreign powers, which was in vogue after the Seleukidan war. Like Chandragupta and Bindusāra he was aggressive at home but pacific abroad. The friendly attitude towards non-Indian powers is proved by the exchange of embassies and the employment of Yavana officials like Tushāspha. In India, however, he played the part of a conqueror. The Divyāvadāna credits him with the suppression of a revolt of Taxila. In the thirteenth year of his reign (eight years after consecration) he effected the **conquest of Kaliṅga**. We do not know the exact limits of this kingdom in the time of Aśoka. But if the Sanskrit epics and Purāṇas are to be believed, it extended to the river Vaitaranî in the north,[3] the Amarakaṇṭaka Hills in the west[4] and Mahendragiri in the south.[5]

An account of the Kaliṅga war and its effects is given in Rock Edict XIII. We have already seen that Kaliṅga formed a part of the Magadhan dominions in the time of the Nandas. Why was it necessary for Aśoka to reconquer it ? The question admits of only one answer, *viz.*, that

[1] The epithet "Piadaṁsana" is sometimes prefixed to Chandragupta also (Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, p. 5; Hultzsch, CII, Vol. I, p. xxx).

[2] Dharmāśoka-narādhipasya samaye Śrî Dharmachakro Jino yādṛik tannaya rakshitaḥ punarayaṁchakre tatopyadbhutam.

[3] Mbh., III. 114, 4.

[4] Kūrma Purāṇa, II. 39. 9.

[5] Raghuvaṁśa, IV, 38-43; VI, 53-54.

Kaliṅga severed its connection with Magadha after the fall of the Nandas. If the story of a general revolt in the time of Bindusāra be correct then it is not unlikely that Kaliṅga, like Taxila, threw off the allegiance of Magadha during the reign of Bindusāra. It appears, however, from Pliny who probably based his account on the Indica of Megasthenes, that Kaliṅga was already an independent kingdom in the time of Chandragupta. In that case there can be no question of a revolt in the time of Bindusāra. Pliny says,[1] "the tribes called Calingae are nearest the sea···the royal city of the Calingae is called Parthalis. Over their king 60,000 foot soldiers, 1,000 horsemen, 700 elephants keep watch and ward in 'procinct of war.'"[2]

The Kaliṅga kings probably increased their army considerably during the period which elapsed from the time of Megasthenes to that of Aśoka, because during the war with Aśoka the casualties exceeded 250,000. It is, however, possible that the huge total included not only combatants but also non-combatants. The existence of a powerful kingdom so near their borders, with a big army 'in procinct of war,' could not be a matter of indifference to the kings of Magadha. Magadha learnt to her cost what a powerful Kaliṅga meant, in the time of Khāravela.

We learn from the Thirteenth Rock Edict that Aśoka

[1] Ind. Ant., 1877, p. 338.

[2] If, as is probable, Kaliṅga included at this time the neighbouring country of Aśmaka, then Parthalis may be the same as "Potali." For an interesting account of Kaliṅga and its early capitals Dantakūra and Tosali, see Sylvain Lévi, "Pré-Aryen et Pré-Dravidien dans l'Inde," J.A., Juillet-Septembre 1923; and Indian Antiquary, 1926 (May), pp. 94-98. "The appellation of Kaliṅga, applied to Indians throughout the Malay world, attests the brilliant rôle of the men of Kaliṅga in the diffusion of Hindu civilisation." Not far from the earliest capital (Paloura-Dantapura-Dantakūra) lay the *apheterion*, "where vessels bound for the Golden Peninsula ceased to hug the shore and sailed for the open sea." Note, in this connection, the name Ho-ling (Po-ling, Kaliṅga) applied by the Chinese to Java (Takakusu I-tsing, p. xlvii), an island which was known by its Sanskrit name to Ptolemy (150 A.D.) and even to the Rāmāyaṇa (Kishk. 40. 30). For the connection of early Kaliṅga with Ceylon see IA, VIII. 2,225.

made war on the Kaliṅga country and annexed it to his empire. "One hundred and fifty thousand persons were carried away captive, one hundred thousand were slain, and many times that number died." Violence, slaughter, and separation from their beloved ones befell not only to combatants, but also to the Brāhmaṇas, ascetics, and householders.

The conquered territory was constituted a viceroyalty under a prince of the royal family stationed at Tosali,[1] apparently situated in the Purî district. The Emperor issued two special edicts prescribing the principles on which both the settled inhabitants and the border tribes should be treated. These two edicts are preserved at two sites, now called Dhauli (in Purî) and Jaugaḍa (in Gañjam). They are addressed to the Mahāmātras or High Officers at Tosali and Samāpā.[2] In these documents the Emperor makes the famous declaration "all men are my children," and charges his officers to see that justice is done to the people.

The conquest of Kaliṅga was a great landmark in the history of Magadha, and of India. It marks the close of that carrier of conquest and aggrandisement which was ushered in by Bimbisāra's annexation of Aṅga. It opens a new era—an era of peace, of social progress, of religious propaganda and at the same time of political stagnation and, perhaps, of military inefficiency during which the martial spirit of imperial Magadha was dying out for want of exercise. The era of military conquest or Digvijaya

[1] Tosali (variant Tosala) was the name of a country as well as a city. Lévi points out that the *Gaṇḍavyūha* refers to the country (Janapada) of "Amita-Tosala" in the Dakshiṇāpatha, "where stands a city named Tosala." In Brāhmaṇical literature Tosala is constantly associated with (South) Kosala and is sometimes distinguished from Kaliṅga. The form Tosalei occurs in the Geography of Ptolemy. Some mediæval inscriptions (Ep. Ind., IX. 286; XV. 3) refer to Dakshiṇa Tosala and Uttara Tosala.

[2] For the identification of Samāpā, see Ind. Ant., 1923, pp. 66 ff.

was over, the era of spiritual conquest or Dhammavijaya was about to begin.

We should pause here to give an account of the **extent of Asoka's dominions** and the manner in which they were administered before the Emperor embarked on a new policy.

Aśoka mentions Magadha, Pāṭaliputra, Khalatika-pavata (Barābar Hills), Kosaṁbi, Luṁmini-gāma, Kaliṅga (including Tosali, Samāpā and Khapiṁgala or the Jaugada Rock), Aṭavi (the forest tract of Mid-India perhaps identical with Ālavī of the Buddhist texts), Suvarṇagiri, Isila, Ujjayinî and Takshaśilā expressly as being among those places which were under his rule.

Beyond Takshaśilā the empire stretched as far as the confines of the realm of "Aṁtiako Yonarāja" and included the wide territory round Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsahra inhabited by the Yonas, Kambojas and the Gandhāras. The exact situation of the Yona territory has not yet been determined. The Mahāvaṁsa evidently refers to it and its chief city Alasanda which Geiger identifies with the town of Alexandria founded by the Macedonian conqueror near Kābul.[1] Kamboja, as we have already seen, corresponds to Rājapura or Rajaur near Punch in Kaśmîra. The tribal territory of the Gandhāras at this time probably lay to the west of the Indus, and did not apparently include Takshaśilā which was ruled by a princely Viceroy, and was the capital of the province of Uttarāpatha.[2] The capital of Trans-Indian Gandhāra was Pushkarāvatî, identified by Coomaraswamy with the site known as Mîr Ziyārat or Balâ Hisār at the junction of the Swāt and Kābul rivers.[3]

[1] Geiger, Mahāvaṁsa, p. 194.

[2] *Cf.* Kaliṅga Edict; Divyāvadāna, p. 407, Rājño'śokasy-ottarāpathe Takshaśilā nagaraṁ, etc.

[3] *Cf.* Carm. Lec., 1918, p. 54. *Indian and Indonesian Art*, 55.

The inclusion of Kaśmîra within Aśoka's empire is proved by the testimony of Hiuen Tsang's Records [1] and Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅginî [2]: Kalhaṇa says: "The faithful Aśoka, reigned over the earth. This king who had freed himself from sins and had embraced the doctrine of Jina, covered Śushkaletra and Vitastātra with numerous Stūpas. At the town of Vitastātra there stood within the precincts of the Dharmāraṇya Vihāra a Chaitya built by him, the height of which could not be reached by the eye. That illustrious king built the town of Śrînagarî. This sinless prince after removing the old stuccoed enclosure of the shrine of Vijayeśvara built in its stead a new one of stone. He...erected within the enclosure of Vijayeśa, and near it, two temples which were called Aśokeśvara." The description of Aśoka as a follower of Jina, *i.e.*, Buddha, and the builder of numerous stūpas leaves no room for doubt that the great Maurya monarch is meant. We are told by Kalhaṇa himself that he is indebted for much of the above account to an earlier chronicler named Chhavillākara. ✓

The inscriptions at Kālsī and those on the Rummindei and the Nigālî Sāgar pillars prove the inclusion of the Dehra-Dūn District and the Tarāi within the limits of Aśoka's Empire, while the monuments at Lalitapātan and Rāmpurwā attest his possession of the valley of Nepāl and the district of Champāran. Further evidence of the inclusion of the Himālayan region within Aśoka's empire is furnished by Rock Edict XIII which refers to the Nābhapaṁtis of Nābhaka, probably identical with Na-pei-kea of FaHien,[3] the birthplace of Krakuchchhanda Buddha, about 10 miles south or south-west of Kapilavastu.[4]

1 Watters, Vol. I, pp. 267-71.

2 I. 102-06.

3 Legge, 64.

4 "The Brahmapurāṇa assigns Nābhikapura to the territory of the Uttara-Kurus" (Hultzsch, CII, Vol. I, p. xxxixn).

According to Bühler, Rock Edict XIII mentions two vassal tribes Viśa and Vajri. Several scholars do not accept Bühler's reading, and substitute Visayamhi in its place. That is no doubt the reading of the Girnar text, but according to Professors Bhandarkar and Majumdar [1] the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsahra texts read Vishavajri. Kauṭilya in his Arthaśāstra [2] refers to the Vṛijikas as a Saṅgha along with Kamboja and other states. It is not unlikely that Vṛijika is identical with Vajri, and that like Kamboja, the Vṛijikas were a vassal state within the Maurya Empire. The capital of the state was, of course, Vaiśālî. A tribe called Besatae is mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythræn Sea [3] and is located on the borders of the land of This, *i.e.*, China. It is not altogether improbable that the Vishas of Aśoka's Edict are identical with the Besatae of the Periplus, and the names of the products Bisi and Mahābisi [4] were derived from them. In the commentary on the Arthaśāstra [5] it is stated that the twelve villages producing Bisi and Mahābisi are situated on the Himālayas.[6]

We learn from the classical writers that the country of the Gangaridae, *i.e.*, Bengal, [6] formed a part of the dominions of the king of the Prasii, *i.e.*, Magadha, as early

[1] The inscriptions of Aśoka, published by the University of Calcutta, Part I, p. 53.

[2] P. 378.

[3] Schoff's tr., p. 48.

[4] Mentioned in the Arthaśāstra, p. 79. *Cf.* the Mahāvṛishas of the Vedic literature.

[5] Shamasastri's translation, p. 91, n. 10.

[6] For early references to Vaṅga, see Lévi "Pré-aryen et Pré-dravidien dans l Inde." For its denotation, see *Mānasī o Marmavānī*, Srāvaṇa, 1336. Several scholars find it mentioned in the Aitareya Āraṇyaka. But this is doubtful. Bodhāyana brands it as an impure country and even Patañjali excludes it from Āryāvarta. The country was, however, aryanised before the Manusaṁhitā which extends the eastern boundary of Āryāvarta to the sea, and the Jain Prajñāpanā which ranks Aṅga and Vaṅga in the first group of Aryan peoples.

as the time of Agrammes, *i.e.*, the last Nanda King.[1] A passage of Pliny clearly suggests that the "Palibothri" dominated the whole tract along the Ganges.[2] That the Magadhan kings retained their hold on Bengal as late as the time of Aśoka is proved by the testimony of the Divyāvadāna[3] and of Hiuen Tsang who saw Stūpas of that monarch near Tāmralipti and Karṇasuvarṇa (in West Bengal), in Samataṭa (East Bengal) as well as in Puṇḍra-vardhana (North Bengal). Kāmarūpa (Assaṃ) seems to have lain outside the empire. The Chinese pilgrim saw no monument of Aśoka in that country.

We have seen that in the south the Maurya power, at one time, had probably penetrated as far as the Podiyil Hill in the Tinnevally district.[4] In the time of Aśoka the Maurya frontier had receded probably to the Pennār river near Nellore as the Tamil Kingdoms are referred to as "Prachaṁta" or border states and are clearly distinguished from the Imperial dominions (Vijita or Rāja-vishaya), which stretched only as far south as the Chitaldūrg District of Mysore. The major part of the Deccan was ruled by the viceregal princes of Suvarṇagiri[5] and Tosali, the Mahāmātras of Isila and Samāpā and the officers in charge of the Aṭavî or Forest Country (Edict XIII). But certain strips of territory were occupied by vassal tribes,

[1] McCrindle, Inv. Alex., pp. 221, 281.

[2] Ind. Ant., 1877, 339.

[3] *Cf.* Smith's Aśoka, 3rd ed., p. 255.

[4] Mr. S. S. Desikar thinks that the last point reached by the Mauryas was the Veṅkaṭa hill (IHQ., 1928, p. 145).

[5] A clue to the location of this city is probably given by the inscriptions of the later Mauryas of the Koṅkaṇ and Khandesh, apparently the descendants of the southern Viceroy (Ep. Ind., III. 136). As these later Maurya inscriptions have been found at Vâda in the north of the Ṭhāṇa District (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, p. 14) and at Wāghlī in Khāndesh (*ibid*, 284), it is not unlikely that Suvarṇagiri was situated in that neighbourhood. Curiously enough there is actually in Khandesh a place called Songir. According to Hultzsch (CII, p. xxxviii) Suvarṇagiri is perhaps identical with Kanakagiri in the Nizām's dominions, south of Maski, and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara. Isila may have been the ancient name of Siddāpura.

e.g., the Andhras, Pulindas, Bhojas and Rāshṭrikas. The word Pitinika mentioned in Rock Edicts V and XIII should, according to Prof. Bhandarkar, not be read as a separate name but as an adjective qualifying Rāshṭrika (Edict V) and Bhoja (Edict XIII). The Professor draws our attention to certain passages in the Aṅguttara Nikāya [1] where the term Pettanika occurs in the sense of one who enjoys property given by his father.[2] The view that *Pitinika* is merely an adjective of Raṭhika or Bhoja is not, however, accepted by Barua who remarks that "it is clear from the Pāli passage, as well as from Buddhaghosha's explanations, that Raṭṭhika and Pettanika were two different designations." The Andhras and the Pulindas are, as we have already seen, mentioned in a passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The Bhojas are also mentioned in that work as rulers of the south.[3] Pliny, quoting probably from Megasthenes, says that the Andarae (Andhras) possessed numerous villages, thirty towns defended by walls and towers, and supplied their king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants.[4] The earliest Andhra capital (Andhapura) was situated on the Telavāha river which, according to Professor Bhandarkar, is either the modern Tel or Telingiri, both flowing near the confines of the Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces.[5] The

[1] III. 76,78 and 300.

[2] Ind. Ant., 1919, p. 80. Other scholars, however, identify the Pitinikas with the Paithānakas or natives of Paithan, and some go so far as to suggest that they are the ancestors of the Sātavāhana rulers of Paithan. See Woolner, *Asoka Text and Glossary*, II, 113; also JRAS., 1923, 92. *Cf.* Barua, Old Brāhmī Ins., p. 211.

[3] For other meanings of Bhoja, see Mbh., Adi, 84. 22; IA. V. 177; VI. 25-28; VII. 36. 254.

[4] Ind. Ant., 1877, p. 339.

[5] In historical times the Andhras are found in possession of the Kṛishṇā and Guṇṭūr districts as we learn from the Mayidavolu plates and other records. The earliest capital of the Andhra country or "Andhrāpatha" known from the inscriptions, is apparently Dhaṁñakaḍa or Bezvâda. Kubiraka of the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions (*c.* 200 B.C.) is the earliest known ruler. One recension, in the Brāhmī script,

Pulindas are invariably associated with the Vindhyan region in the Purāṇas :—

Pulindā Vindhya Pushikā Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ saha
(Matsya, P. 114, 48).

Pulindā Vindhya Mulikā Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ saha
(Vāyu, 55, 126).

Their capital Pulinda-nagara lay not far from Bhilsā and may have been identical with Rūpnāth, the find-spot of one recension of Minor Rock Edict I.

The Bhojas and the Rāshṭrikas were evidently the ancestors of the Mahābhojas and the Mahāraṭhis of the Sātavāhana period.[1] The Bhojas apparently dwelt in Berar and the Koṅkaṇ, and the Rāshṭrikas in Mahārāshṭra.

In the west Aśoka's Empire extended to the Arabian Sea and embraced all the Aparāntas (Śūrpāraka, Nāsik, etc., according to the Mārkaṇḍeya P., 57. 49-52) including no doubt the vassal state or province of Surāshṭra which was governed by the Yavana-rāja Tushāspha with Giri-nagara (Girnar) as his capital. Dr. Smith says that the form of the name shows that the Yavana-rāja must have been a Persian, but according to this interpretation the Yavana Dhammadeva, the Śaka Ushavadāta (Ṛishabha-datta) and the Kushān Vāsudeva must have been all native Hindus of India. If Greeks and other foreigners adopted Hindu names there is no wonder that some of them assumed Irāṇic appellations. There is, then, no good ground for assuming that Tushāspha was not a Greek, but a Persian.

Rapson [2] seems to think that the Gandhāras, Kambojas, Yavanas, Rāshṭrikas, Bhojas, Petenikas, Pulindas and Andhras lay beyond Aśoka's dominions, and were not his subjects, though regarded as coming within

of the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka, has recently been discovered in the Kurnool District which falls within the "Andhra" area of the Madras Presidency.

[1] Smith, Asoka, third ed., pp. 169-70.

[2] C. H. I., pp. 514, 515.

his sphere of influence. But this surmise can hardly be accepted in view of the fact that Aśoka's Dharma-mahāmātras were employed amongst them "on the revision of (sentences of) imprisonment or execution, in the reduction of penalties, or (the grant of) release" (Rock Edict V). In Rock Edict XIII, they seem to be included within the Rāja-Vishaya, and are distinguished from the real border peoples (Aṁta, Prachaṁta), *viz.*, the Greeks of the realm of Antiochos and the Tamil peoples of the south (Nicha). But while we are unable to accept the views of Rapson, we find it equally difficult to agree with Prof. Bhandarkar [1] who denies the existence of Yonas and others as feudatory chieftains in Aśoka's dominions. The case of the Yavana-rāja Tushāspha clearly establishes the existence of such vassal chiefs whose peoples undoubtedly enjoyed partial autonomy though subject to the jurisdiction of special Imperial officers like the Dharma-mahāmātras.

Having described the extent of Aśoka's empire we now proceed to give a brief account of its **administration.** Aśoka continued the Council government of his predecessors. There are references to the Emperor's dealings with the Parishā or Parishad in Rock Edicts III and VI. Senart took Parishā to mean Saṅgha and Bühler understood by it the Committee of caste or sect. But Mr. Jayaswal has pointed out that the Parishā of the Edicts is the Mantriparishad of the Arthaśāstra.[2] The inscriptions prove that Aśoka retained also the system of Provincial Government existing under his forefathers. Tosali, Suvarṇagiri, Ujjayinî and Takshaśilā were each under a prince of the blood royal (Kumāla or Ayaputa).[3]

[1] Aśoka, 28.

[2] Compare the references to the "Sarājikā Parishā" in the Mahāvastu, Senart, Vol. III, pp. 362, 392.

[3] An interesting feature of Aśoka's administration was the employment of a Yavana governor over one province to which reference has already been made.

The Emperor and the Princes were helped by bodies (Nikāyā) of officials who fell under the following classes :—

1. The Mahāmātras [1] and other Mukhyas.
2. The Rājūkas.
3. The Pradeśikas or Prādeśikas.
4. The Yutas (the Yuktas of the Arthaśāstra, pp. 59, 65, 199, Rāmāyaṇa, VI. 127, 34; Mahābhārata, II, 56, 18, Manu, VIII. 34; *cf.* the Rāja-yuktas of the Śāntiparva, 82. 9-15).
5. Pulisā.
6. Paṭivedakā.
7. Vachabhūmikā.
8. Lipikaras.
9. Dūtas.
10. Āyuktas.

There was a body of *Mahāmātras* in each great city and district of the empire.[2] The inscriptions mention the Mahāmātras of Pāṭaliputra, Kauśāmbî, Tosali, Samāpā, Suvarṇagiri and Isila. In the Kaliṅga Edicts we have certain Mahāmātras distinguished by the term Nagala-Viyohālakā. The Nagala Viyohālakā of the Edicts correspond to the Paura-vyāvahārikas of the Arthaśāstra (p. 20) and no doubt administered justice in cities.[3] In Pillar Edict I mention is made of the Aṁta Mahāmātras or the Wardens of the Marches, who correspond to the Antapālas of the Arthaśāstra (pp. 20, 247) and the Goptṛis of the age of Skanda Gupta. Kauṭilya tells us that the salary of an Antapāla was equal to that of a Kumāra, a

[1] *Cf.* also Arthaśāstra, pp. 16, 20, 58, 64, 215, 237-39.

[2] The Empire, as already stated, was divided into a number of provinces. Each province seems to have been further subdivided into *āhālas* or districts under regular civil administration, and *koṭṭa-vishayas* or territories surrounding forts (Hultzsch, p. xl). Each civil administrative division had a *pura* or *nagara* (city) and a rural part called *Janapada*.

[3] *Cf.* also Nagara-dhānya Vyāvahārika, p. 55.

Paura-vyāvahārika, a member of the Mantriparishad or a Rāshṭrapāla (p. 247). In Edict XII mention is made of the Ithîjhaka Mahāmātras who, doubtless, correspond to the Stry-adhyakshas (the Guards of the Ladies) of the Mahābhārata.[1]

As to the *Rājūkas*, Dr. Smith takes the word to mean a governor next below a Kumāra.[2] Bühler identifies the Rājūka of the Aśokan inscriptions with the Rajjūka or the Rajjugāhaka amachcha of the Jātakas.[3] Pillar Edict IV refers to the Rājūkas as officers "set over many hundred thousands of people," and charged with the duty of promoting the welfare of the *Jānapadas*, to whom Aśoka granted independence in the award of honours and penalties. The reference to the award of penalties (Daṇḍa) probably indicates that the Rājūkas had judicial duties. In the Rock Edict III as well as in Pillar Edict IV they are associated with the Yutas. Strabo[4] refers to a class of Magistrates (Agronomoi) who "have the care of the rivers, measure the land, as in Egypt, have charge also of hunters and have the power of rewarding or punishing those who merit either." The measuring of the land connects those Magistrates with the Rajjugāhaka Amachcha of the Jātakas,[5] while the power of rewarding and punishing people connects them with the Rājūkas of Aśoka. It is probable, therefore, that the Agronomoi referred to by Strabo were identical with the Rājūkas and the Rajjugāhaka Amachchas. The Arthaśāstra (p. 234) refers to a class of officials called "Chora Rajjukas," but there is no reference to the Rajjukas proper, although on p. 60 "Rajju" is mentioned in conjunction with "Chora Rajju."

1 IX. 29, 68, 90 ; XV. 22, 20 ; 23, 12.

2 Aśoka, 3rd ed., p. 94.

3 The Social Organisation in North-East India by Fick, translated by S. Maitra, pp. 148-51.

4 H. & F., Vol. III, p. 103.

5 *Cf.* Maitra, Fick, pp. 148-49.

As regards the *Pradeśikas* or *Prādeśikas*, Senart, Kern and Bühler understood the term to denote local governors or local chiefs. Smith took it to mean District Officers. Hultzsch compares it with *Prādeśikeśvara* of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅginī* (IV. 126). The word occurs only in the third Rock Edict where the functionaries in question are included with the Rājūkas and the Yutas in the ordinance of the Anusaṁyāna. Thomas derives the word from *pradeśa* which means report [1] and identifies the Prādeśikas or Pradeśikas of the Edict with the Pradeshṭṛis of the Arthaśāstra. The most important functions of the Pradeshṭṛis were Bali-pragraha (collection of taxes, or suppression of recalcitrant chiefs), Kaṇṭaka-śodhana (administration of criminal justice), Chora-mārgaṇa (tracking of thieves) and Adhyakshāṇām adhyaksha purushānām cha niyamanaṁ (checking superintendents and their men). They acted as intermediaries between the Samāhartṛi on the one hand and the Gopas, Sthānikas and Adhyakshas on the other.[2]

As to the *Yutas* or Yuktas, they are represented by Manu (VIII. 34) as the custodians of Praṇashṭādhigata dravya (lost property which was recovered). In the Arthaśāstra, too, they are mentioned in connection with Samudaya or state funds which they are represented as misappropriating. Hultzsch suggests that they were 'secretaries' employed for codifying royal orders in the office of the Mahāmātras. The *Pulisā* or Agents are apparently identical with the Purushas or Rāja Purushas of the Arthaśāstra (pp. 59, 75). Hultzsch prefers to equate them with the Gūḍha-purushas and points out that they were graded into high ones, low ones, and those of middle rank. They were placed in charge of many people (Pillar Edict VII) and controlled the Rājūkas. The *Paṭivedakā* or Reporters are doubtless the Chāras referred to in

[1] JRAS, 1915, p. 97, Arthaśāstra, p. 111.

[2] *Cf.* Arthaśāstra, pp. 142, 200, 217, 222.

Chapter 16 of the Arthaśāstra (p. 38), while the *Vachabhūmikas* or " Inspectors of cowpens " were evidently charged with the superintendence of " Vraja " referred to in Chapter 24 (pp. 59-60). The *Lipikaras* are the royal scribes one of whom, Chapaḍa, is mentioned by name in Minor Rock Edict II. *Dūtas* or envoys are referred to in Rock Edict XIII. If Kauṭilya is to be believed, they were divided into three classes, *viz.*, Nisṛishṭārthāḥ or Plenipotentiaries, Parimitārthāḥ or Chargés d'Affaires and Śāsanaharas or conveyers of royal writ. The *Āyuktas* are local officials referred to only in the Kaliṅga Edicts.

The Maurya Empire: the Era of Dhammavijaya and Decline.

1. *Aśoka after the Kaliṅga War.*

Chakkavattî ahuṁ rājā Jambusaṇḍassa issaro
muddhābhisitto khattiyo manussādhipati ahuṁ
adaṇḍena asatthena vijeyya paṭhaviṁ imaṁ
asāhasena dhammena samena manusāsiyā
dhammena rajjam kāretvā asmim paṭhavimaṇḍale

—Aṅguttara Nikāya.

We have already seen that the Kaliṅga war opened a new epoch in the history of Magadha and of India. During the first thirteen years of his reign Aśoka was a typical Magadhan sovereign—the inheritor of the policy of Bimbisāra, of Mahāpadma and of Chandragupta—conquering peoples, suppressing revolt, annexing territory. After the Kaliṅga war all this is changed. The older political philosophy of Vassakāra and Kauṭilya gave way to a new state-craft inspired by the teaching of the sage of the Śākyas. Before proceeding to give an account of the remarkable change we should say a few words about the religious denominations of India and the condition of society during the reign of the great innovator.

In the days of Aśoka the people of India were divided into many sects of which the following were the most important :—

1. The orthodox Deva-worshippers.[1]
2. The Ājîvikas or the followers of Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta.

[1] Among the Devas worshipped in the Maurya period, Patañjali makes special mention of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha.

3. The Nirgranthas or Jainas, *i.e.*, the followers of Niganṭha Nāṭaputta who is commonly called Mahāvîra or Vardhamāna.

4. The followers of Gautama Buddha Śâkyamuni.

In Edict IV we have the following account of the prevailing state of society : " for a long period past, even for many hundred years, have increased the sacrificial slaughter of living creatures, the killing of animate beings, unseemly behaviour to relatives, unseemly behaviour to Brāhmaṇas and ascetics (Śramaṇas)."[1] The Kings used to go out on so-called Vihāra-yātrās[2] in which hunting and other similar amusements used to be practised.[3] The people performed various ceremonies (maṁgala)[4] on occasions of sickness, weddings of sons,[5] the weddings of daughters, the birth of children, and departure on journeys. The womankind performed many, manifold, trivial and worthless ceremonies.[6]

The Change of Aśoka's Religion.

Aśoka himself was at first a Deva-worshipper—a Śaiva according to Kalhaṇa. He had no scruple about the slaughter of men and animals ; " formerly, in the kitchen of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King each day many hundred thousands of living creatures were slaughtered to make curries." The hecatomb of the Kaliṅga war has already been mentioned. The

[1] *Cf.* Ajātaśatru's treatment of Bimbisāra, Viḍuḍabha's massacre of the Śākyas, Udayana's cruelty towards Piṇḍola, and Nanda's haughty demeanour towards Chāṇakya.

[2] Tours of pleasure, *cf.* Mahābhārata, XV. 1. 18, Kauṭilya, p. 332 :

Vihārayātrāsu punaḥ Kururājo Yudhishṭhiraḥ
Sarvān kāmān mahātejāḥ pradadav Ambikāsute.

[3] R. Edict VIII.

[4] For " Maṁgala " see also Jātakas No. 87, and No. 163 (Hatthimaṁgala).

[5] For Āvāha and Vivāha see also Mbh., V. 141. 14.

[6] R. Edict IX

sight of the misery and bloodshed in that sanguinary campaign made a deep impression on him and awakened in his breast feelings of *anusochanam*, "remorse, profound sorrow, and regret." About this time he came under the influence of Buddhist teaching. We read in Rock Edict XIII "directly after the Kaliṅgas had been annexed began His Sacred Majesty's zealous protection of the Law of Piety (dhramapālanaṁ), his love of that Law (dhramakamata), and his inculcation of that Law (dhramanuśati)."

Although Aśoka became a Buddhist [1] he was not an enemy either of the Devas or the Brāhmaṇas. Up to the last he took pride in calling himself Devānaṁpiya. He found fault with unseemly behaviour towards Brāhmaṇas [2] and inculcated liberality to the same class. He was perfectly tolerant. "The king does reverence to men of all sects." [3] He reprobated Ātmapāsaṇḍa-pujā when coupled with Para-pāsaṇḍa-garahā. That he was sincere in his professions is proved by the Barābar Cave Dedications to the Ājivîka monks. His hostility was chiefly directed, not towards the Devas and the Brāhmaṇas, but the killing of men in war and Samājas, the slaughter of animals in sacrifice, and the performance of vulgar, useless and offensive ceremonies.

The Change of Foreign Policy.

The effect of the change of religion was at once felt in foreign policy. The Emperor declared that "of all the people who were slain, done to death, or carried away captive in Kaliṅga, if the hundredth part or the thousandth part were now to suffer the same fate, it would be a matter of regret to His Sacred Majesty.

[1] Śākya (Rūpnāth), Buddha Śākya (Maski), Upāraka (Sahasrām); see Hultzsch, CII, p. xliv. *Cf.* also Kalhaṇa, Rājataraṅgiṇi, I. 102.

[2] Edict IV.

[3] Edict XII.

Moreover, should any one do him wrong, that too must be borne with by His Sacred Majesty, so far as it can possibly be borne with." In Kaliṅga Edict I, the Emperor expressed his desire that the unconquered peoples in the frontiers of his realm (Aṁtā avijitā) " should not be afraid of him, that they should trust him, and should receive from him happiness not sorrow." The chiefest conquest in the Emperor's opinion was the conquest of the Law of Piety (Dhamma-vijaya). In Edict IV he exultingly says " the reverberation of the war drums (Bherighoso) has become the reverberation of the Law (Dhammaghoso)." Not content with what he himself did he called upon his sons and even his grandsons to eschew new conquests—putro papotra me asu navaṁ vijayaṁ ma vijetaviyaṁ. Here we have a complete renunciation of the old policy of military conquest or Digvijaya and the enunciation of a new policy, *viz.*, that of Dhammavijaya.[1] The full political effects of this change of policy became manifest only after the death of Aśoka. From the time of Bimbisāra to the Kaliṅga war the history of India was the story of the expansion of Magadha from a tiny state in south Bihār to a gigantic Empire extending from the foot of the Hindukush to the borders of the Tamil country. After the Kaliṅga war ensued a period of stagnation at the end of which the process is reversed. The empire gradually dwindled down in extent till it sank to the position from which Bimbisāra and his successors had raised it.

True to his principle Aśoka made no attempt to annex the frontier (Prachaṁta) kingdoms, *viz.*, Chola, Pāṇḍya,

[1] The Aśokan conception of *Dhammavijaya* was similar to that described in the *Chakkavatti Sihanāda Sutta*, " conquest not by the scourge, not by the sword, but by righteousness " (Dialogues of the Buddha, Part III, p. 59). It was different from the Hindu conception explained and illustrated by the Mahābhārata (XII. 59.38-39), the Kauṭiliya (p. 382), and the Raghuvaṁśa (IV. 43).

Satiyaputra, Keralaputra, Taṁbapaṁṇi (Ceylon) and the realm of Aṁtiyako Yonarāja. On the contrary he maintained friendly relations with them

The **Chola** country was drained by the river Kāverî and comprised the districts of Trichinopoli and Tanjore. We learn from a South Indian inscription [1] that Hara asked Gunabhara, "How could I, standing in a temple on earth, view the great power of the Cholas or the river Kāverî?" When Pulakeśin II strove to conquer the Cholas "the Kāverî had her current obstructed by the causeway formed by his elephants." The Chola capital was Uraiyūr (Sanskrit Uragapura) or Old Trichinopoly.[2] The principal port was at Kāviripaṭṭinam or Pugār on the northern bank of the Kāverî.[3]

The **Pandya** country corresponded to the Madurā, Rāmnad and Tinnevally districts and perhaps the southern portion of the Travancore state, and had its capitals at Kolkai and Madurā (Dakshiṇa Mathurā). The rivers Tāmraparṇî and Kṛitamālā or Vaigai flowed through it. Kātyāyana derives Pāṇḍya from Pāṇḍu. The Pāṇḍus are mentioned as the ruling race of Indraprastha in the Mahābhārata as well as in several Jātakas. Ptolemy (*cir.* 150 A. D.) speaks of the country of the Pandoouoi in the Pañjāb. There can be no doubt that Pāṇḍu was the name of a real tribe in northern India. Kātyāyana's statement regarding the connection of the Pāṇḍyas with the Pāṇḍus receives some support from the fact that the

[1] Hultzsch, SII, Vol. I, p. 34.

[2] Aelian, however, has the following reference to the realm of Soras (Chola?) and its chief city: "There is a city which a man of royal extraction called Soras governed at the time when Eukratides governed the Bactrians, and the name of that city is Perimuda. It is inhabited by a race of fish-eaters who go off with nets and catch oysters." For Uragapura in Cholika Vishaya, see Ep. Ind., X. 103.

[3] For the early history of the Chola Kingdom and other Tamil states see CHI., Vol. I, Ch. 24; Smith, EHI, Ch. XVI; Kanakasabhai Pillay, *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*; Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Beginnings of South Indian History* and *Ancient India*; K. A. Nilkanta Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*.

name of the Pāṇḍya capital (Madurā) was identical with the famous city of Mathurā in the Śūrasena country which, according to Epic tradition, was the seat of a family intimately associated by ties of friendship and marriage with the Paṇḍus of Indraprastha. The connection between the Pāṇḍus, the Śūrasenas, and the Pāṇḍyas seems to be alluded to in the confused stories narrated by Megasthenes regarding Herakles and Pandaia.[1]

Satiyaputra is identified by Mr. Venkatesvaraiyar[2] with Satya-vrata-kshetra or Kāñchîpura. But Prof. K. Aiyangar points out that the term Satya-vrata-kshetra is applied to the town Kāñchī or a part of it, not to the country dependent upon it. There is besides the point whether *vrata* could become *puta*. Mr. Aiyangar prefers Bhandarkar's identification with Satpute. He takes Satiyaputra to be a collective name of the various matriarchal communities like the Tulus and the Nāyars of Malabar.[3] According to Dr. Smith[4] Satiyaputra is represented by the Satyamangalam Tāluk of Coimbatore. Mr. P. J. Thoma, however, prefers to identify it with "Satyabhūmi" of the *Kēralolpatti*, a territory which corresponds roughly to "North Malabar including a portion of Kasergode Taluk, South Canara."[5]

Keralaputra (Ketalaputra or Chera) is "the country south of Kūpaka (or Satya), extending down to Kanneti in Central Travancore (Karunagapalli Taluk). South of it lay the political division of Mūshika."[6] It was watered by the river Periyar, perhaps identical with the Churṇī of the *Arthaśāstra* (p. 75), on the banks of which stood its capital Vañji (near Cochin) and at its mouth the seaport of Muziris (Kranganur).

[1] Ind. Ant., 1877, p. 249.
[2] JRAS, 1918, pp. 541-42.
[3] JRAS, 1919, pp. 581-84.
[4] Asoka, Third Ed., p. 161.
[5] JRAS, 1923, p. 412.
[6] JRAS, 1923, p. 413.

Ceylon was known in ancient times as Pārasamudra [1] as well as Tāmraparṇî (Greek Taprobane).[2] Taṁbapaṁṇi, *i.e.*, Tāmraparṇî is mentioned in Rock Edicts II and XIII of Aśoka. Dr. Smith now [3] takes the word to mean not Ceylon but the river Tāmraparṇī in Tinnevally. He refers to the Girnar text " ā Taṁbapaṁṇi " which according to him indicates that the river is meant not the island. Now, in Edict II the phrase " ā Taṁbapaṁṇi " comes after Ketalaputo and not after Pāḍā. The expression " Ketalaputo as far as the Tāmraparṇî " is hardly appropriate, because the Tāmraparṇî is a Pāṇḍyan river. We, therefore, prefer to take Tāmraparṇî to mean Ceylon. Aśoka's Ceylonese contemporary was Devānaṁpiya Tissa whose accession may be dated about 251 or 247 B.C.

Aśoka maintained friendly relations not only with the Tamil powers of the south, but also with his **Hellenistic frontager,** Antiochos Theos, king of Syria and Western Asia (B.C. 261-246) : and even with the kings the neighbours of Antiochos. namely Ptolemy Philadelphos, king of Egypt (B.C. 285-247) ; Magas, king of Cyrene in North Africa (about B.C. 285-258); Antigonos Gonatas, king of Macedonia (B.C. 277-239); and Alexander who ruled over Epirus according to Norris, Westergaard, Lassen, Senart and Dr. Smith. Beloch and Hultzsch, however, suggest [4]

[1] Greek Palaesimundu, see Ray Chaudhuri, Ind. Ant., 1919, pp. 195-96.

On reading Law's Ancient [Hindu Polity (p. 87 n.) I find that the identification was also suggested by Mr. N. L. Dey.

[2] For other names of Ceylon see " Megasthenes and Arrian " published by Chakravarti and Chatterji, 1926, p. 60 n. For a short history of the island see Camb. Hist. Ind., Chap. XXV, and IHQ, II. 1, p. 1ff. According to tradition recorded in the Dīpavaṁsa and the Mahāvaṁsa the first Aryan immigrants were led by Prince Vijaya of Lāla, whom the chronicles represent as the great-grandson of a Princess of Vaṅga. The identification of Lāla is, however, open to controversy, some placing it in Gujarāṭ, others identifying it with Rāḍha or Western Bengal. Barnett may be right in his assumption that the tradition of two different streams of immigration was knit together in the story of Vijaya.

[3] Asoka, 3rd Ed., p. 162.

[4] JRAS, 1914, pp. 943ff.

that Alikasudara of Edict XIII is Alexander of Corinth, son of Craterus (B.C. 252—*cir.* 244) and not Alexander of Epirus (272—*cir.* 255), son of Pyrrhus.

Though Aśoka did not covet the territories of his neighbours, there is evidence that he gave them advice on occasions, and established philanthropic institutions in their dominions. In other words he regarded them as objects of religious conquest (Dhammavijaya).

"My neighbours, too, should learn this lesson" (M. R. Edict I).

"Among his frontagers the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, the Satyaputra, the Ketalaputra as far as Tāmraparṇī, Antiochos the Greek king, and even the kings the neighbours of that Antiochos, everywhere have been made healing arrangements of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King."

In Edict XIII Aśoka declares that the "conquest of the Law of Piety, ...has been won by His Sacred Majesty .....among all his neighbours as far as six hundred leagues, where the king of the Greeks named Antiochos dwells, and to the north of that Antiochos (where dwell) the four kings severally Ptolemy (Turamāyo), Antigonos (Aṁtekina), Magas (Maga or Maka), and Alexander (Alikasudaro)—(likewise) in the south, the Cholas and Pāṇḍyas as far as Taṁbapaṁṇi.....Even where the envoys (dutā) of His Sacred Majesty do not penetrate, those people, too, hearing His Sacred Majesty's ordinance based upon the Law of Piety and his instruction in that Law, practise and will practise the Law.[1]

The Ceylonese chronicles do not refer to the envoys sent to the independent Tamil and Hellenistic kingdoms but name the missionaries sent to Ceylon and **Suvaṇṇabhūmi** (Pegu

[1] For Buddhism in Western Asia, see Beal, Si-yu-ki, II. 278; and Alberūnī, p. 21; JRAS, 1913, 76; M'Crindle, Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature, p. 185; Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III, pp. 3, 450f.; *Cf.* Smith, EHI[4], 197; Burlingame, trans. Dhammapada Commentary, Introduction.

and Moulmein according to Dr. Smith). The Ceylonese mission was headed by prince Mahendra. No reference to Suvaṇṇabhūmi occurs in the Edicts hitherto discovered.

The Change in Internal Policy.

The effects of Aśoka's change of religion after the Kaliṅga war were felt not only in foreign policy but also in internal affairs. The principal objects of his complaint according to Rock Edict IV and the Kaliṅga Edicts were :

1. The sacrificial slaughter (āraṁbho) of living creatures.
2. Violence (vihiṁsā) to animate beings.
3. Unseemly behaviour (asaṁpratipati) to kinsmen (jñāti).
4. Unseemly behaviour to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.
5. Maladministration in the Provinces.

According to Rock Edict I, Aśoka saw much offence not only in the sacrificial slaughter of animals, but also in certain Samājas or Gatherings which, as we learn from Kauṭilya (p. 45), were often witnessed by the Maurya Emperor.[1] The Samāja, says Smith, was of two kinds. The popular festival kind, accompanied by animal fights, heavy drinking and feasting, including much consumption of meat, was necessarily condemned by Aśoka, as being inconsistent with his principles. The other kind, the semi-religious theatrical performance, sometimes given in the temples of Sarasvatî, the goddess of learning, was apparently not included among offensive Samājas. Dr. Thomas[2] describes the disapproved Samāja as "a celebration of games or contests taking place in an arena or amphitheatre surrounded by platforms (mañcha) for spectators (Prekshā)."

[1] For the holding of Samājas in Magadha and in neighbouring countries see Mahāvastu, III. 57 and 383.

[2] JRAS, 1914, pp. 392ff.

This kind of Samāja is apparently referred to in the following lines of the Virāṭa parva of the Mahābhārata :—

Ye cha kechin niyotsyanti Samājeshu niyodhakāḥ
(Virāṭa, 2, 7).

Tatra Mallāḥ samāpetur digbhyo rājan sahasrasaḥ
Samāje Brahmaṇo rājan tathā Paśupater api
Mahākāyāḥ mahāvîryāḥ Kālakañjā ivāsurāḥ.
(*Ibid*, 13, 15-16.)

The harmless Samāja is probably the one referred to in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra (Pakshasya māsasya vā prajñāte' hani Sarasvatyā bhavane niyuktānāṁ nityaṁ Samājaḥ). According to Hultzsch the harmless Samāja refers to edifying shows.

Aśoka determined to put a stop to the practices, referred to above, which he did not approve. At the same time he sought to improve the moral and material condition of the people to such an extent as to effect the "association of gods with men" [1] (*cf.* Minor Rock Edict I). He did all this "in order that he might discharge the debt (which he owed) to living beings (that) he might make them happy in this (world) and (that) they might attain heaven in the other (world)." The means employed to achieve this object may be classed under four heads :

1. Administrative reforms.
2. Dissemination of instructions in the Dhamma (Law of Piety).
3. Benevolent activity; promotion of the welfare of man and beast.
4. Religious toleration and prevention of schism in the Buddhist church.

[1] *Cf.* The Harivaṁśa passage (Bhavishyaparva, Ch. 32.1) "Devatānāṁ manushyānāṁ sabavāso'bhavattadā." Hultzsch, however, compares (xlv) Deva with Divyāni rūpāṇi of Rock Edict IV.

Administrative Reforms

In the first place, Aśoka instituted the Quinquennial and Triennial *Anusaṁyāna* or Circuit of the Yutas, Rājūkas, Prādeśikas, and Mahāmātras. Mr. Jayaswal and Dr. Smith[1] are of opinion that the whole administrative staff from the Rājūka and the Prādeśika down to the Yuta could not possibly go on circuit at once every five years. They interpret the term as signifying a regular system of transfers from one station to another. But there is nothing in the text to show that ALL the officers were required to go on circuit AT ONCE. The anusaṁyāna of the Yutas, Rājūkas and Prādeśikas was mainly intended for propaganda work. The anusaṁyāna of the Mahāmātras was specially instituted for the purpose of checking miscarriage of justice, arbitrary imprisonment, and torture in the outlying Provinces (Kaliṅga, Ujjayinî and Takshaśilâ).

Secondly, Aśoka created a number of new posts, *e.g.*, *Dharma-mahāmātras* and probably *Dharmayutas*. The Dharma-mahāmātras were given a protective mission among people of all sects including the Brāhmaṇas and the Nirgranthas or Jainas, and among the Yavanas, Kambojas, Gandhāras, Rāshṭrikas and all the Aparāntas. "Among servants and masters, Brāhmaṇas and the wealthy (Ibhyas), among the helpless and the aged, they are employed in freeing from worldly cares their subordinates (in the department) of the Law of Piety. They are also employed on the revision of (sentences of) imprisonment or execution, in the reduction of penalties, or (the grant of) release, on the grounds of motive, having children, instigation, or advanced years...

[1] Asoka, 3rd edition, p. 164.

At Pāṭaliputra and in all provincial towns, in the female establishments of the king's brothers and sisters, as well as of other relatives, they are everywhere employed." The Dharma-mahāmātras were further engaged everywhere in the imperial dominions among the Dharmayutas with regard to "the concerns of the Law, the establishment of the Law, and the business of alms-giving."

The emperor was naturally anxious to keep himself fully informed without delay about all public affairs, specially about the doings of the Mahāmātras on whom the success of his mission mainly depended. He, therefore, gave *special directions to the Paṭivedakas* that when a matter of urgency committed to the Mahāmātras and discussed in the Parishad occasioned a division of opinion or adjournment (?), he must be informed without delay.

It is apparent from the Kaliṅga Edicts and Rock Edict VI that Aśoka kept a watchful eye on the Mahāmātras especially on those who administered justice in cities. But he was more indulgent towards his Rājūkas who were "eager to serve him." To the *Rājūkas* "set over many hundred thousands of people" the emperor *granted independence* in the award of honours and penalties in order that those officials might perform their duties confidently and fearlessly. He, however, wanted to maintain some uniformity in penalties as well as in procedure. For this reason he issued the following rule :—

"To condemned men lying in prison under sentence of death a respite of three days is granted."

Lastly, Aśoka issued certain regulations restricting slaughter and mutilation of animals, and up to the twenty-seventh year of his coronation effected twenty-five jail deliveries. This suggests, as has been pointed out by Hultzsch, that the emperor used to proclaim an amnesty to criminals at almost every anniversary of his coronation.

Measures adopted to disseminate Instructions in the Law of Piety.

The Law of Piety according to the Second Pillar Edict, consisted in Apāsinave, bahukayāne, dayā, dāne, sache, sochaye, "little impiety, many good deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity." In Minor Rock Edict II the virtues of the Law which must be practised are thus stated: "father and mother must be hearkened to; respect for living creatures must be firmly established; truth must be spoken. The teacher must be reverenced by the pupil, and fitting courtesy must be shown to relations." In Edict XIII we have the following "hearkening to superiors, hearkening to father and mother, hearkening to teachers (or elders), and proper treatment of friends, acquaintances, comrades, relatives, slaves[1] and servants, with steadfastness of devotion." Edict VII lays stress on "mastery over the senses, purity of mind, gratitude, and steady devotion."

We learn from Minor Rock Edict I that for more than two-and-a-half years Aśoka was a lay disciple (Upāsaka) without exerting himself strenuously. He then *entered*[2] the Saṅgha and began to exert himself strenuously. He issued the famous proclamation "Let small and great exert themselves," sent missions (Vyutha)[3] to expound and expand his teaching, began to write the imperishable record of his purpose on the rocks and engraved it upon stone pillars wherever there were stone pillars in his dominions. Aśoka

[1] For the question of slavery in Maurya India, see Monahan, Early History of Bengal, pp. 164-165.

[2] "*Approached*," according to Hultzsch, in whose opinion the two-and-a-half years of *Upāsakatva* include the period which followed his "visit" (not "entry") to the Saṅgha. The contrary view is, however, supported by I-tsing who mentions an image of Aśoka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk.

[3] The interpretation of Vyutha as missionary was pointed out by Senart and accepted ay Dr. Smith (Aśoka, Third Ed., p. 153). Prof. Bhandarkar takes Vyutha or Vivutha to mean "officials on tour."

at first utilised the existing administrative machinery for religious propaganda. He commanded his Parishad to inculcate the Dharma on the Yutas and ordered the latter as well as the Rājūkas, and Prādeśikas to inculcate the same while they set out for the anusaṁyāna. The dharma which they were to preach was explained thus :

"An excellent thing is the hearkening to father and mother[1]; an excellent thing is liberality to friends, acquaintances, relatives, Brāhmaṇas and ascetics; excellent is abstention from the slaughter of living creatures; excellent is small expense with small accumulation."

When he had been consecrated thirteen years, Aśoka created the new officials called Dharma-mahāmātras who were specially entrusted with the work of "dhammādhithāna" and "dhammavadhi," *i.e.*, the establishment and increase of Piety.

The emperor also exhibited spectacles of the dwelling of the gods (Vimānadasanā), spectacles of elephants (Hastidasanā), masses of fire (Agikhaṁdhāni) and other representations of a divine nature. Prof. Bhandarkar[2] refers to the Pāli Vimānavatthu which describes the splendour of the various celestial abodes (Vimānas) in order to induce listeners and spectators to lead good and unblemished lives and thereby attain to these. Aśoka seems to have made representations of these Vimānas and paraded them in various places. Hasti, according to Prof. Bhandarkar, is Sveto hasti, *i.e.*, Buddha himself who is also described as "Gajatama," *i.e.*, Gajottama. Hultzsch suggests that Hasti may refer to the vehicles of the four "Māhārājās" (guardians of quarters). As regards Agikaṁdha (Agniskandha) Professor Bhandarkar draws our attention to the Jātaka No. 40 which refers to a blazing fire pit created by Māra on the surface of which

[1] *Cf.* Sigālovāda Suttanta (Dialogues of the Buddha, III, 173 ff.).

[2] Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 26.

the Bodhisattva strode and gave a bowl to a hungry Pachcheka Buddha and extolled alms-giving.[1] Others take Agikaṁdha to refer to "radiant beings of another world."

While his officers were busy preaching the new Gospel, the emperor himself did not remain idle. In his eleventh regnal year he "started on the path" leading to Sambodhi (ayāya Sambodhim[2]) and commenced the tours of Piety (Dhammayātā) in the place of the old tours of pleasure (Vihārayātā). In the tours of Piety this was the practice—visiting ascetics and Brāhmaṇas, with liberality to them; visiting elders, with largess of gold; visiting the people of the country (Janapada) with instruction in the Law of Piety, and discussion of that Law. The memory of a pious tour in Aśoka's twenty-first regnal year (B.C. 249 according to Smith) is preserved by the Rummindeî and Nigāli Sāgar epigraphs in the Nepalese Tarai. These records prove that Aśoka visited the birth-place of Gautama and paid reverence to the stūpa of Konākamana, one of the former Buddhas.

In 242 B.C., according to Dr. Smith, Aśoka issued the Seven Pillar Edicts which contain a review of the measures taken during his reign for the "promotion of religion, the teaching of moral duty."

Benevolent Activity. Promotion of the Welfare of Man and Beast.

Aśoka abolished the sacrificial slaughter of animals and offensive Samājas and the massacre of living creatures

[1] *Cf.* also the *Yamaka-Prātihārya* displayed by the Buddha at Śrāvastî which consisted in walking in the air in various attitudes while *emitting* alternately *flames* and waves from the upper and lower parts of his body (Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, 152; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, 21).

[2] Some scholars take Sambodhi to mean supreme knowledge. But Prof. Bhandarkar contends that Sambodhi is equivalent to the Bodhi Tree or the Mahābodhi Temple at Bodh Gayā. According to the Divyāvadāna (p. 393) Aśoka visited Bodhi in the company of the Sthavira Upagupta (Hultzsch, CII, xliii).

to make curries in the imperial kitchen. Rock Edict VIII refers to the abolition of the vihārayātrās or tours of pleasure in which hunting and other similar amusements used to be practised. Pillar Edict V contains a code of regulations[1] restricting slaughter and mutilation of animals. Dr. Smith points out that the prohibitions against animal slaughter in this edict coincide to a considerable extent with those recorded in the Arthaśāstra.

The emperor established healing arrangements in two kinds, namely, healing arrangements for men and healing arrangements for beasts. Medicinal herbs also, both for men and for beasts, wheresoever lacking, were imported and planted. Roots also and fruits, wheresoever lacking were imported and planted. On the roads wells were dug at intervals of 8 kos, flights of steps built for descending into the water, and banyan trees and mango groves planted for the enjoyment of man and beast.

Pillar Edict VII refers to the employment of superior officers (Mukhyas) in the distribution of alms, both the emperor's own and those of the queens and princes. One of the Minor Pillar Edicts refers to the donations of the second Queen Kāruvākî, mother of Tīvara: "whatever gift has been given here by the second Queen—be it a mango-garden, or pleasure-grove or alms house, or aught else—is reckoned as proceeding from that queen."

Religious Toleration and the Prevention of Schism in the Buddhist Church.

In Rock Edict XII the Emperor declares that he "does reverence to men of all sects, whether ascetics (Pavajitāni) or householders (Gharastāni) by gifts and various forms of reverence." That he was sincere in his professions is proved by the Barābar cave dedications

[1] Dhammaniyama, *cf.* Patañjali, I, I.I.

in favour of the Ājîvika ascetics, who were more akin to the Jainas than to the Buddhists.

The Emperor only cared for the "growth of the essence (Sāra) of the matter in sects." He says that "he who does reverence to his own sect while disparaging the sects of others wholly from attachment to his own, with intent to enhance the splendour of his own sect, in reality by such conduct inflicts the severest injury on his own sect." Concord (Samavāyo) is praised by him as meritorious (Samavāyo eva sādhu).

Just as Aśoka tried to secure concord among the various sects, so he wanted to prevent schism within the Buddhist church. Tradition affirms that a Buddhist Council was convened at Pāṭaliputra during his reign for the purpose of suppressing heresy. The Sārnāth Edict and its variants may be regarded as embodying the resolution of this Council.[1]

The Success and Failure of Aśoka.

Dr. Smith observes that Aśoka, by his comprehensive and well-planned measures of evangelisation, succeeded in transforming Buddhism which was a local Indian sect into one of the great religions of the world. His teaching continued to bear wholesome fruit long after he had passed away. In the second century A. D. Queen Gautamî Balaśrî takes pride in the fact that her son was "alien to hurting life even towards an offending enemy" (Kitāparādhe pi satujane apānahisāruchi). Even in the fifth century A. D. the rest-houses and free hospitals of Magadha excited the wonder and admiration of foreigners. The benefactions of Dharmāśoka were a source of inspiration to royal personages as late as the time of Govindachandra of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty.

The political record of the great Maurya's early years

[1] Smith, Aśoka, third ed., p. 55.

was no less brilliant. His reign saw the final triumph of those centripetal forces that had been at work since the days of Bimbisāra. The conquest of Kaliṅga completed the unification of non-Tamil India under the hegemony of Magadha.[1]

But the policy of Dhammavijaya which he formulated after the Kaliṅga War was not likely to promote the cause for which a long line of able sovereigns from Bimbisāra to Bindusāra had lived and struggled. Dark clouds were looming in the north-western horizon. India needed men of the calibre of Puru and Chandragupta to ensure her protection against the Yavana menace. She got a dreamer. Magadha after the Kaliṅga War frittered away her conquering energy in attempting a religious revolution, as Egypt did under the guidance of Ikhnaton. The result was politically disastrous as will be shown in the next section. Aśoka's attempt to end war met with the same fate as the similar endeavour of President Wilson.

According to Dr. Smith's chronology Aśoka died in 232 B. C., after a reign of about 40 years. A Tibetan tradition is said to affirm that the great Emperor breathed his last at Taxila.[2]

II. The Later Mauryas and the Decline of their Power.

The Magadha Empire under Aśoka extended from the foot of the Hindukush to the borders of the Tamil country. But the withdrawal of the strong arm of Piyadasi was perhaps the signal for the disintegration of this mighty monarchy. "His sceptre was the bow of Ulysses which could not be drawn by any weaker hand." The provinces fell off one by one. Foreign barbarians began to pour across the north-western gates of the empire, and a time came

[1] For Aśoka's achievements in the domain of art, see Smith, HFAIC, 13, 57 ff.; *Aśoka*, p. 107 ff. ; CHI, 618 ff. ; Havell, ARI, 104 ff.

[2] The Oxford History of India, p. 116.

when the proud monarchs of Pāṭaliputra and Rājagṛiha had to bend their knees before the despised provincials of Andhra and Kaliṅga.

Unfortunately, no Kauṭilya or Megasthenes has left any account of the later Mauryas. It is impossible to reconstruct a detailed history of Aśoka's successors from the scanty data furnished by one or two inscriptions and a few Brāhmaṇical, Jaina and Buddhist works!

Aśoka had many children. In Pillar Edict VII, he pays attention to the distribution of alms made by all his children, and in particular to those made by the "Princes, sons of the Queens." It is to this last category that belonged some of the Kumāras who represented the Imperial authority at Takshaśilā, Ujjayinî, Suvarṇagiri and Toṣali. **Tīvara,**[1] the son of queen Kāruvākî, the only prince named in the inscriptions, does not appear to have mounted the imperial throne. Three other sons, namely, Kunāla, (Dharma-Vivardhāna, Suyaśas?), Jalauka and Mahendra are mentioned in literature. It is, however, uncertain whether Mahendra was a son of Aśoka or his brother.

The Vāyu Purāṇa says that after Aśoka's death his son **Kunāla** reigned for eight years. Kunāla's son and successor was Bandhupālita, and Bandhupālita's dāyāda or heir was Indrapālita. After Indrapālita came Devavarman, Satadhanus and Bṛihadratha.

The Matsya Purāṇa gives the following list of Aśoka's successors :—Daśaratha, Samprati, Śatadhanvan and Bṛihadratha.

The Vishṇu Purāṇa furnishes the following names :—Suyaśas, Daśaratha, Saṅgata, Śāliśūka, Somaśarman Śatadhanvan and Bṛihadratha.

The Divyāvadāna (p. 433) has the following names :—Sampadî, Vṛihaspati, Vṛishasena, Pushyadharman and Pushyamitra.

[1] For Tivara as a Magadhan name see the Book of Kindred Sayings, II, pp. 128-130.

The Rājataraṅginī mentions **Jalauka** as the successor of Aśoka in Kaśmîra, while Tāranātha mentions another successor Vîrasena who ruled in Gandhāra and was, as Dr. Thomas suggests, probably the predecessor of **Subhāgasena** of Polibyus.[1]

It is not an easy task to reconcile the divergent versions of the different authorities. The reality of the existence of Kunāla is established by the combined testimony of the Purāṇic and Buddhist works (which represent him as the father of Saṁpadî) as well as the evidence of Jinaprabhasuri and Hemachandra, the well-known Jaina writers. The names Dharma-Vivardhana occurring in the Records of Fa Hien and Suyaśas found in the Vishṇu and the Bhāgavata Purāṇas were probably birudas or epithets of this prince. Tradition is not unanimous regarding the accession of Kunāla to the imperial throne. He is reputed to have been blind. His position was, therefore, probably like that of Dhṛitarāshṭra of the Great Epic and, though nominally regarded as the sovereign, he was physically unfit to carry on the work of government which was presumably entrusted to his favourite son Samprati, who is described by the Jaina and Buddhist writers as the immediate successor of Aśoka.

Kunāla's son was Bandhupālita according to the Vāyu Purāṇa, Saṁpadî (Samprati) according to the Divyāvadāna and the Pāṭaliputrakalpa of Jinaprabhasuri, and Vigatāśoka according to Tāranātha.[2] Either these princes were identical or they were brothers. If the latter view be correct then Bandhupālita must be identified with **Dasaratha** whose reality is established by the brief dedicatory inscriptions on the walls of cave-dwellings at the Nāgārjuni Hills which he bestowed upon the Ājîvikas. Daśaratha, who

[1] Ind. Ant., 1875, p. 362; Camb. Hist. Ind., p. 512.

[2] Ind. Ant., 1875, 362.

receives the epithet "devānaṁpiya" in the inscriptions, was a grandson of Aśoka according to the Matsya and Vishṇu Purāṇas, and the predecessor of Samprati (variant Saṅgata) according to the same authorities.

Indrapālita must be identified with **Samprati** or Śāliśūka according as we identify Bandhupālita with Daśaratha or Samprati. "In the matter of the propagation of the Jaina faith, Jaina records speak as highly of Samprati as Buddhist records do of Aśoka." The Pāṭaliputrakalpa of Jinaprabhasuri says, "in Pāṭaliputra flourished the great king Samprati, son of Kunāla, lord of Bhārata with its three continents, the great Arhanta who established Vihāras for Śramaṇas even in non-Aryan countries." Dr. Smith shows good grounds for believing that the dominions of Samprati included Avanti and Western India.

In his *Aśoka*[1] he admits that the hypothesis that Aśoka left two grandsons, of whom one (Daśaratha) succeeded him in his eastern and the other (Samprati) in his western dominions, is little more than a guess. The Jaina writers represent Samprati as ruling over Pāṭaliputra as well as Ujjayinī. His name is mentioned in the Purāṇic list of Aśoka's Magadhan successors.

The existence of **Śālisūka** is proved not only by the testimony of the Vishṇu Purāṇa but also by that of the Gārgī Saṁhitā[2] and the *e* Vāyu manuscript referred to by Pargiter. He may have been identical with Vṛihaspati, son of Samprati according to the Divyāvadāna.

Devavarman and Somaśarman are variant readings of the same name. The same is the case with Śatadhanus and Śatadhanvan. It is not easy to identify Vṛishasena

1 Third ed., p. 70.

2 Kern's Bṛihatsaṁhitā, p. 37.

The Gārgī Saṁhitā says, "There will be Śāliśūka a wicked quarrelsome king. Unrighteous although theorising on righteousness (dharmavādi adhārmikaḥ) he cruelly oppresses his country."

and Pushyadharma; possibly they are merely birudas or secondary names of Devavarman and Śatadhanvan.

The last Imperial Maurya of Magadha, **Brihadratha,** is mentioned not only in the Purāṇas but also in Bāṇa's Harshacharita. He was assassinated by his general Pushyamitra Śuṅga who is wrongly described by the Divyāvadāna as of Maurya descent.

Petty Maurya kings continued to rule in Western India as well as Magadha long after the extinction of the Imperial line. King Dhavala of the Maurya dynasty is referred to in the Kaṇaswa inscription of A.D. 738.[1] Prof. Bhandarkar identifies him with Dhavalappadeva, the overlord of Dhanika mentioned in the Dabok (Mewar) inscription of A.D. 725.[2] Maurya chiefs of the Koṅkaṇ and Khāndesh are referred to in the Early Chalukya and Yādava epigraphs.[3] A Maurya Prince of Magadha named Pūrṇavarman is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang.

There can be no doubt that during the rule of the later Mauryas the Magadha Empire experienced a gradual decay. Aśoka died about the year 232 B.C. Within a quarter of a century after his death a Greek army crossed the Hindukush which was the Maurya frontier in the days of Chandragupta and his grandson. The Yuga Purāṇa section of the Gārgî Saṁhitā bears testimony to the **decline of the Maurya power** in the Madhyadeśa after the reign of Śāliśūka :

Tataḥ Sāketam ākramya Pañchālam Mathurāmstathā
Yavanaḥ dushṭavikrāntaḥ prāpsyati Kusumadhvajam

[1] Ind. Ant., XIII. 163; Bomb. Gaz., I, Part 2, p. 284. Kaṇaswa is in the Kotah state, Rājputāna. It is not unlikely that Dhavala was a descendant of some princely Viceroy of Ujjain.

[2] Ep. Ind., XII, p. 11.

[3] Bomb. Gaz., I, Part 2, pp. 283, 284. Bühler suggests (Ep. Ind., III, p. 136) that these Maurya chieftains of the Koṅkaṇ were probably descendants of the princely viceroy of the Deccan. He also draws our attention to the family name 'More' which is met with in the Mahratta country, and is apparently a corruption of 'Maurya.'

Tataḥ Pushpapure prāpte kardame prathite hite
Ākulā vishayā sarve bhavishyanti na saṃśayaḥ.[1]

Where was now the power that had expelled the prefects of Alexander and hurled back the battalions of Seleukos? According to Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī[2] a reaction promoted by the Brāhmaṇas had sapped the foundations of the Maurya authority and dismembered the empire.

Among the causes of the alienation of the Brāhmaṇas the foremost place is given to Aśoka's Edict against animal sacrifices. The Edict, in Paṇḍit Śāstrî's opinion, was certainly directed against the Brāhmaṇas as a class and was specially offensive because it was promulgated by a Śūdra ruler. As to the first point we should remember that prohibition of animal sacrifices did not necessarily imply hostility towards Brāhmaṇas. Long before Aśoka Brāhmaṇa sages whose teachings have found a place in the Holy Śruti, the most sacred literature of the Brāhmaṇas, declared themselves in no uncertain terms against sacrifices, and in favour of Ahiṁsā. In the Muṇḍaka Upanishad (1. 2. 7) we have the following Śloka :—

Plavā hyete adṛiḍhā yajñarūpā
Ashṭādaśoktam avaraṁ yeshu karma
Etachchhreyo ye'bhinandanti mūḍhā
Jarāmṛityuṁ te punarevāpi yanti.

"Frail, in truth are those boats, the sacrifices, the eighteen in which this lower ceremonial has been told. Fools, who praise this as the hightest good, are subject again and again to old age and death." In the Chhāndogya Upanishad (III. 17. 4) Ghora Āṅgirasa lays great stress on Ahiṁsā.

[1] Kern, Bṛihat Saṁhitā, p. 37.

[2] JASB, 1910, p. 259.

As to the second statement we should remember that tradition is not unanimous in representing the Mauryas as Śūdras. The Purāṇas assert, no doubt, that after Mahāpadma there will be kings of Śūdra origin. But this statement cannot be taken to mean that all the Post-Mahāpadman kings were Śūdras, as in that case the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas also will have to be classed as Śūdras. The Mudrārākshasa which calls Chandragupta a Śūdra, is a late work, and its evidence is contradicted by earlier books. In the Mahāparinibbānasutta the Moriyas (Mauryas) are represented as belonging to the Kshatriya caste. The Mahāvaṁsa[1] refers to the Moriyas as a noble (kshatriya) clan and represents Chandragupta as a scion of this clan. In the Divyāvadāna (p. 370) Bindusāra, son of Chandragupta, said to a girl, "Tvaṃ Nāpinî aham Rāja Kshatriyo Mūrdhābhishiktaḥ ǩathaṃ mayā sārdhaṃ samāgamo bhavishyati?" In the same work (p. 409) Aśoka says to one of his queens (Tishyarakshitā), "Devi ahaṃ Kshatriyaḥ katham palāṇḍuṃ paribhakshayāmi?" In a Mysore inscription Chandragupta is described as "an abode of the usages of eminent kshatriyas."[2] Kauṭilya's preference of an "abhijāta" king seems also to suggest that his sovereign was born of a noble family.[3]

Having referred to the prohibition of animal sacrifices Paṇḍit Śāstrî says: "this was followed by another edict in which Aśoka boasted that those who were regarded as gods on earth have been reduced by him into false gods. If it means anything it means that the Brāhmaṇas who were regarded as Bhūdevas or gods on earth had been shown up by him."

[1] Geiger's Translation, p. 27.

[2] Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 10.

[3] *Cf.* Arthaśāstra, p. 326. See also *supra*, 180, 181, the reign of Chandragupta.

The original passage referred to above runs thus :—

Y (i)-imāya kālāya Jambudipasi amisā devā husu te dāni m (i) s-kaṭā.

Paṇḍit Śāstrî followed the interpretation of Senart. But Prof. Sylvain Lévi has shown that the word amisā cannot stand for Sanskrit amṛishā, for in the Bhābru edict we find Musā and not Misā for Sanskrit mṛishā. The recently discovered Māski version reads misibhūtā for misaṁ-kaṭā, showing that the original form was miśrî-bhūtā. It will be grammatically incorrect to form misi-bhūtā from Sanskrit mṛishā. The word miśra means mixed. And miśrîbhūtā means "made to mix" or made to associate. The meaning of the entire passage is "during that time the men in India who had been unassociated with the gods became associated with them."[1] There is thus no question of "showing up" anybody. The true import of the passage has been pointed out by Prof. Bhandarkar in the Indian Antiquary, 1912, p. 170.

Paṇḍit Śāstrî adds that the appointment by Aśoka of Dharma-mahāmātras, *i.e.*, of superintendents of morals, was a direct invasion of the rights and privileges of the Brāhmaṇas. It is hardly correct to represent the Dharma-mahāmātras as mere superintendents of morals when their duties consisted in the establishment of the Law of Piety (which included liberality to Brāhmaṇas), the promotion of the welfare of the Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Gāndhāras, Rāshṭrikas, Brāhmaṇas and others, revision of sentences of imprisonment or execution, the supervision of the female establishments of the Emperor's brothers

[1] *Cf.* Āpastamba Dharmasūtra, II. 7. 16. 1. "Formerly men and gods lived together in this world. Then the gods in reward of their sacrifices went to heaven, but men were left behind. Those men who perform sacrifices in the same manner as the gods did, dwell with the gods and Brahma in heaven." My attention was first drawn to this passage by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. *Cf.* also Harivaṁśa (III. 32.1) 'Devatānāṁ manushyānāṁ sahavāso'bhavattadā.'

and other relatives, and the administration of alms-giving.[1] These duties were not essentially those of a superintendent of morals, and were not a direct invasion of the rights and privileges of the Brāhmaṇas. Moreover there is nothing to show that the Dharma-mahāmātras were wholly recruited from non-Brāhmaṇas.

Our attention is next drawn to the passage where Aśoka insists upon his officers strictly observing the principles of Daṇḍa-samatā and Vyavahāra-samatā. Paṇḍit Sāstrî takes the expressions to mean equality of punishment and equality in lawsuits irrespective of caste, colour and creed, and adds that this order was very offensive to the Brāhmaṇas who claimed many privileges including immunity from capital punishment.

The passage containing the expressions Daṇḍa-samatā and Vyāvahāra-samatā should not be divorced from its context and interpreted as if it were an isolated ukase. We quote the passage with the context below :—

"To my Rājūkas set over many hundred thousands of people I have granted independence in the award of honours and penalties. But as it is desirable that there should be uniformity in judicial procedure (Vyāvahāra-samatā) and uniformity in penalties (Daṇḍa-samatā), from this time forward my rule is this—"To condemned men lying in prison under sentence of death a respite of three days is granted by me."

It is clear from the extract quoted above that the order regarding Vyāvahāra-samatā and Daṇḍa-samatā is to be understood in connection with the general policy of decentralisation which the Emperor introduced. Aśoka granted independence to the Rājūkas in the award of penalties, but he did not like that the Daṇḍa and Vyāvahāra prevalent within the jurisdiction of one Rājūka

[1] Aśoka, third ed., pp. 168-169.

should be entirely different from those prevailing within the jurisdiction of others.[1] He wanted to maintain some uniformity (samatā) both in Daṇḍa (penalties) as well as in Vyāvahāra (procedure). As an instance he refers to the rule about the granting of a respite of three days to condemned men. The Samatā which he enforced involved a curtailment of the autonomy of the Rājūkas and did not necessarily infringe on the alleged immunity of the Brāhmaṇas from capital punishment.

But were the Brāhmaṇas really immune from capital punishment in ancient India? The immunity was certainly not known to the Kuru-Pañchāla Brāhmaṇas who thronged to the court of Janaka. In the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad (III. 9. 26) we have a reference to a Brāhmaṇa disputant who failed to answer a question of Yājñavalkya and lost his head. We learn from the Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa[2] that a Purohita might be punished with death for treachery to his master. Kauṭilya, p. 229, tells us that a Brāhmaṇa guilty of treason was to be drowned. Readers of the Mahābhārata are familiar with the stories of the punishments inflicted on Māṇḍavya and Likhita.[3] The life of a Brāhmaṇa was not so sacrosanct in ancient as in mediaeval and modern India. We learn from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa that king Hariśchandra of the Ikshvāku family did not scruple to offer a Brāhmaṇa boy as a victim in a sacrifice.

Against the surmises regarding the anti-Brāhmaṇical policy of Aśoka we have the positive evidence of some of his inscriptions which proves the Emperor's solicitude for the well-being of the Brāhmaṇas. Thus in Rock Edict III he inculcates liberality to Brāhmaṇas. In Edict IV he speaks with disapproval of unseemly behaviour towards

[1] I am indebted for this suggestion to Mr S. N. Majumdar.
[2] Vedic Index, II, p. 84.
[3] Ādi, 107 and Śānti, 23, 36.

Brāhmaṇas. In Edict V he refers to the employment of Dharma-mahāmātras to promote the welfare and happiness of the Brāhmaṇas.

Paṇḍit Śāstrî says further that as soon as the strong hand of Aśoka was removed the Brāhmaṇas seemed to have stood against his successors. We have no evidence of any such conflict between the children of Aśoka and the Brāhmaṇas. On the other hand, if the Brāhmaṇa historian of Kaśmîr is to be believed, the relations between Jalauka, one of the sons and successors of Aśoka, and the Brāhmaṇical Hindus were entirely friendly.

In conclusion Paṇḍit Śāstrî refers to the assassination of the last Maurya Emperor of Magadha by Pushyamitra Śuṅga and says, "We clearly see the hands of the Brāhmaṇas in the great revolution." But the Buddhist remains at Bhārhut erected "during the supremacy of the Śuṅgas" do not bear out the theory which represents Pushyamitra and his descendants as the leaders of a militant Brāhmaṇism. Are inferences deduced from uncorroborated writings of late authors like the compiler of the Divyāvadāna and Tāranātha to be preferred to the clear testimony of contemporary monuments? Even admitting that Pushyamitra was a militant Brāhmaṇist we fail to see how the decay and dismemberment of the Maurya empire can be attributed primarily to him or his Brāhmaṇist followers. The empire was a shrivelled and attenuated carcase long before the Śuṅga *coup d'etat* of 185 B. C. We learn from the Rājataraṅginî that immediately after the death of Aśoka one of his own sons, Jalauka, made himself independent in Kaśmîra and conquered the plains including Kanauj. If Tāranātha is to be believed another prince, Vîrasena, apparently wrested Gandhāra from the hands of his feeble successor at Pāṭaliputra. The loss of the northern provinces is confirmed by Greek evidence. We learn from Polybius

that about 206 B. C., there ruled over them a king named Sophagasenus (**Subhāgasena**, probably a successer of Vîrasena). We quote the passage referring to the king below : —

"He (Antiochos the Great) crossed the Caucasus and descended into India ; renewed his friendship with Sophagasenus, the king of the Indians ; received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether, and having once more provisioned his troops, set out again personally with his army, leaving Androsthenes of Cyzicus, the duty of taking home the treasure which this king had agreed to hand over to him."

It will be seen that Subhāgasena was a king and not a petty chief of the Kābul valley as Dr. Smith would have us believe. He is called "King of the Indians," a title which was applied by the Classical writers to great kings like Chandragupta and Demetrios. There is nothing in the account of Polybius to show that he was vanquished by the Syrian king in war or was regarded by the latter as a subordinate ruler. On the contrary, the statement that Antiochos "renewed his friendship with Sophagasenus, king of the Indians" proves that the two monarchs met on equal terms and friendly relations were established between them. The renewal of friendship on the part of the Greek king and the surrender of elephants on the part of his Indian brother, only remind us of the relations subsisting between Chandragupta and Seleukos. Further the expression "renewal of friendship" seems to suggest that Subhāgasena had had previous dealings with Antiochos. Consequently he must have come to the throne sometime before 206 B. C. The existence of an independent kingdom in the north-west before 206 B. C. shows that the Maurya Empire must have begun to break up nearly a quarter of a century before the usurpation of Pushyamitra.

We have seen that the theory which ascribes the decline and dismemberment of the Maurya Empire to a Brāhmaṇical revolution led by Pushyamitra Śuṅga does not bear scrutiny. Was the Maurya disruption due primarily to the Greek invasions? The earliest Greek invasion after Aśoka, that of Antiochos the Great, took place about 206 B.C., and we have seen that the combined testimony of Kalhaṇa and Polybius leaves no room for doubt that the dissolution of the empire began long before the raid of the Hellenistic monarch.

What then were the primary causes of the disintegration of the mighty empire? There are good grounds for believing that the government of the outlying provinces by the imperial officials was oppressive. Already in the time of Bindusāra ministerial oppression had goaded the people of Taxila to open rebellion. The Divyāvadana says (p. 371) :—

"Atha Rājño Vindusārasya Takshasilā nāma nagaraṁ viruddham. Tatra Rājñā Vindusāren Āśoko visarjitaḥ... yāvat Kumāraśchaturaṅgena balakāyena Takshaśilāṁ gataḥ, śrutvā Takshaśila nivāsinaḥ paurāḥ pratyudgamya cha kathayanti 'na vayam Kumārasya viruddhāḥ nāpi Rājño Vindusārasya api tu dushṭāmātyā asmākaṁ pāribhavaṁ kurvanti.'"

"Now Taxila a city of Bindusāra's revolted. The king Bindusāra despatched Aśoka there...while the prince was nearing Taxila with the four-fold army, the resident Pauras of Taxila, on hearing of it...came out to meet him and said :—'We are not opposed to the prince nor even to king Bindusāra. But these wicked ministers insult us.'"

Taxila again revolted during tbe reign of Aśoka and the cause was again the tyranny of the ministers. "Rājñośokasy-ottarāpathe Takshaśilā nagaram viruddham..." Prince Kunāla was deputed to the government of the city.

When the prince went there the people said "na vayaṁ Kumārasyaviruddhā na rājño'-śokasy-āpi tu dushṭātmāno' mātyā āgatyāsmākam apamānaṁ kurvanti."

The Divyāvadāna is no doubt a late work, but the reality of ministerial oppression to which it refers, is affirmed by Aśoka himself in the Kaliṅga Edicts. Addressing the High officers (Mahāmātras) in charge of Tosali he says: "All men are my children; and just as I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the next, so also I desire the same for all men. You, however, do not grasp this truth to its full extent. Some individual, perchance, pays heed, but to a part only, not the whole. See then to this, for the principle of government is well established. Again, it happens that some individual incurs imprisonment or torture and when the result is his imprisonment without due cause, many other people are deeply grieved.... Ill performance of duty can never gain my regard... The restraint or torture of the townsmen may not take place without due cause. And for this purpose, in accordance with the Law of Piety, I shall send forth in rotation every five years such persons as are of mild and temperate disposition, and regardful of the sanctity of life...From Ujjain, however, the Prince for this purpose will send out a similar body of officials, and will not over-pass three years. In the same way—from Taxila."[1]

From the concluding words of the Edict it appears that official maladministration was not confined to the province of Kaliṅga. The state of affairs at Ujjain and Taxila was similar. It is thus clear that the loyalty of the provincials was being slowly undermined by ministerial oppression long before the Śuṅga revolution of 185 B.C., and the Greek invasion of 206 B.C. Aśoka no doubt did his best

[1] Smith, Aśoka, third Ed., pp. 194-196.

to check the evil, but he was ill served by his officers. It is significant that the provincials of the north-west—the very people who complained of the oppression of the dushṭāmātyas as early as the reign of Bindusāra, were the first to break away from the Maurya empire.

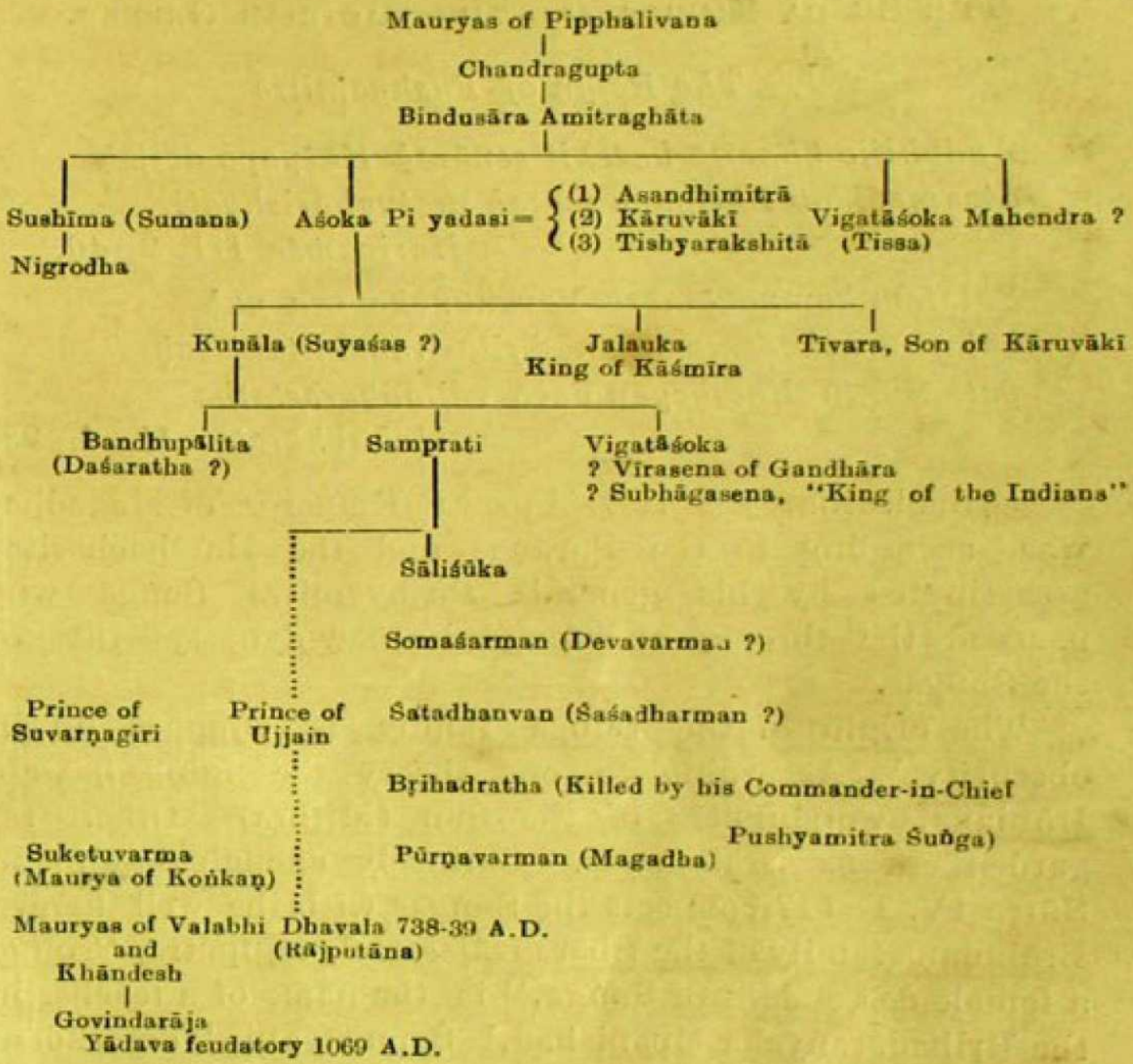
The Magadhan successors of Aśoka had neither the strength nor perhaps the will to arrest the process of disruption.[1] The martial ardour of imperial Magadha had vanished with the last cries of agony uttered in the battle-fields of Kaliṅga. Aśoka had given up the aggressive militarism of his forefathers and had evolved a policy of Dhammavijaya which must have seriously impaired the military efficiency of his empire.[2] He had called upon his sons and grandsons to eschew new conquests, avoid the shedding of blood and take pleasure in patience and gentleness. These latter had heard more of Dhammaghosa than of Bherighosa. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that the *rois faineants* who succeeded to the imperial throne of Pāṭaliputra proved unequal to the task of maintaining the integrity of the mighty fabric reared by the genius of Chandragupta and Chāṇakya.

The disintegration which set in before 206 B.C. was accelerated by the invasions led by the Yavanas referred to in the Gārgī Saṁhitā and the Mahābhāshya of Patañjali. The final *coup de grace* was given by Pushyamitra Śuṅga.

[1] On the contrary, if the Gārgī Saṁhitā is to be believed, one of his successors, namely, Śāliśūka actually quickened the pace by his tyranny—Sarāshtra mardate ghoraṁ dharmavādi adhārmikaḥ. Some of Aśoka's descendants (*e.g.*, Jalauka) set up independent sovereignties, and were thus responsible for the dismemberment of the empire.

[2] *Cf.* the passage in the Gārgī Saṁhitā to which attention is drawn by Mr. Jayaswal (JBORS, IV. 261)—sthāpayishyati mohātmā vijayaṁ nāma dhāmikam, "the fool will establish the so-called conquest of Dharma."

GENEALOGY OF THE MAURYA DYNASTY



The Śuṅga Empire and the Bactrian Greeks.

I. The Reign of Pushyamitra.

Audbhijjo bhavitā kaśchit senānīḥ Kāśyapo dvijaḥ
aśvamedhaṁ Kaliyuge punaḥ pratyaharishyati.
Harivaṁśa III. 2. 40.

Satataṁ kampayāmāsa Yavanāneka eva yaḥ
balapaurushasampannān kṛitāstrānamitaujasaḥ
yathāsurān Kālakeyān devo vajradharastathā.
Mahābhārata, II. 4. 23.

Bṛihadratha, the last Maurya Emperor of Magadha, was, according to the Purāṇas and the Harshacharita, assassinated by his general Pushyamitra Śuṅga who usurped the throne, and founded a new dynasty—that of the Śuṅgas.

The origin of the Śuṅga family is wrapped up in obscurity.[1] According to one theory the Śuṅgas were Irāṇians, worshippers of the Sun (Mithra). Others regard them as Brāhmaṇas. Curiously enough Pāṇini in Sūtra IV. 1. 117 connects the Śuṅgas with the well known Brāhmaṇa family of the Bhāradvājas. Śauṅgīputra, "son of a female descendant of Śuṅga," is the name of a teacher in the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad.[2] Śauṅgāyani, "descendant of Śauṅga," is the name of a teacher in the Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa Macdonell and Keith point out that the Śuṅgas

[1] In the *Mālavikāgnimitram* (Tawney's translation, p. 69) Agnimitra claims descent from 'Bimbaka.' Mr. H. A. Shah suggests (Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras, p. 379) that the Baimbikas were connected with the family of Bimbisāra. It is more probable that the epithet '*Baimbika*' (in the passage "dākshiṇyam nāma bimboshṭhi Baimbikānāṁ kulavratam) is connected with the river Bimbikā mentioned in the Bharhut Inscriptions (Barua and Sinha, p. 8). *Cf.* Baimbaki in Patañjali, IV. 1. 97. In the Harivaṁśa (Bhavishya, II. 40) the Brāhmaṇa Senānī who is to restore the Aśvamedha is represented as a Kāśyapa. Jayaswal identifies him with Pushyamitra.

[2] VI. 4. 31.

are known as teachers in the Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra.[1] It is not known for certain when and why the Śuṅgas, like the Kadambas of a later date, exchanged the ferule for the sword. There is no reason to think that Aśoka tyrannised over the Brāhmaṇas and that his oppression forced them to engage in non-priestly pursuits. Brāhmaṇa *Senāpatis* were by no means rare in ancient India (*cf.* the cases of Droṇa, Kṛipa and Aśvatthāman in the Mahābhārata, of Ravideva in the Indian Antiquary, VIII. 20, of Kholeśvara, the commander of Yādava kings and of Someśvara, the Brāhmaṇa general of the Pāla kings).

The dominions of Pushyamitra extended to the river Narmadā, and included the cities of Pāṭaliputra, Ayodhyā, Vidiśā, Bharhut and, if Tāranātha and the author of the Divyāvadāna are to be believed, Jālandhara and Śākala(?). It appears from the Divyāvadāna, p. 431, that the Emperor himself continued to reside in Pāṭaliputra. The Mālavikāgnimitram tells us that Vidiśā was governed by Prince Agnimitra, probably as his father's viceroy (goptṛi).[2] Another viceroy, also a relation of the emperor, governed Kosala.[3] Agnimitra's queen had a brother of inferior caste, named Vīrasena. He was placed in command of a frontier fortress on the banks of the Narmadā[4] (Atthi devîe

[1] XII. 13. 5, etc.

[2] Mālavikāgnimitram, V. 159.

[3] The existence of this viceroyalty is disclosed by an inscription discovered at the door of a temple at Ayodhyā, which records the erection of a "ketana" by a Kosalādhipa who was the sixth (brother, son or descendant ?) of Senāpati Pushyamitra, the performer of two horse sacrifices (Nāgarī Prachārinī Patrikā, Vaiśākha, Sam. 1981; Mod. Review, 1924, October, p. 431; IHQ, 1929, 602 f.). It is interesting to note that the title, 'Senāpati' clung to Pushyamitra even after the performance of the Aśvamedha. *Cf.* the epithet Vāhinīpati applied to king Virāṭa in the Mahābhārata and the title yavuga applied to Kushān emperors besides other epithets. *Cf.* also the style "Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati in CII., Vol. 3, p. 252, and the title Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara applied to Bijjala and others even after the assumption of the full royal style (Bomb. Gaz. II. ii. 474f.).

[4] Some manuscripts mention Mandākinī as the name of the river (*cf.* IHQ. 1925. 214). Mandākinī lies 5 miles south of the Tapti (Ind. Ant., 1902, 254).

vanāvaro bhādā Vîraseṇo nāma, so bhaṭṭinā antavāladugge Nammadātîre thāvido). Lüders' Inscriptions, Nos. 687-688, seem to suggest that Bharhut (in Baghelkhand) was governed by a Śuṅga feudatory.

Affairs in the Deccan.

It appears from the Mālavikāgnimitram that the foundation of the Śuṅga dynasty synchronised with the establishment of a new kingdom in the Deccan, *viz.*, **Vidarbha**. Agnimitra's Amātya refers to the kingdom as "achirādhishṭhita" (established not long ago) and compares its king to a tree which is newly planted and therefore not firm (nava-saṁropaṇa-śithila-staru). The king of Vidarbha is represented as a relation of the Maurya minister (Sachiva) and a natural enemy (prakṛityamitra) of the Śuṅgas. It appears that during the reign of Bṛihadratha Maurya there were two parties or factions in the Magadha Empire, one headed by the king's Sachiva or minister, the other headed by his Senāpati or general. The minister's partisan Yajñasena was appointed governor of Vidarbha, while the general's son Agnimitra got the Viceroyalty of Vidiśā. When the general organised his *coup d'etat*, killed the king, and imprisoned the minister, Yajñasena apparently declared his independence and commenced hostilities against the usurping family. This is why he is called achirādhishṭhita-rājya and prakṛity-amitra by Agnimitra and his Amātya.

The Mālavikāgnimitram says that when Kumāra Mādhavasena, a cousin of Yajñasena and a partisan of Agnimitra, was secretly on his way to Vidiśā, he was captured by an Antapāla (Warden of the Marches) of Yajñasena and kept in custody. Agnimitra demanded his surrender. The Vidarbha king promised to give him up on condition that his brother-in-law the Maurya

minister should be released. This enraged the Śuṅga Prince who ordered Vīrasena to march against Vidarbha. Yajñasena was defeated. Mādhavasena was released and the kingdom of Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins, the river Varadā forming the boundary between the two states.

In the opinion of several scholars an enemy more formidable than Yajñasena threatened the Śuṅga dominions from Kaliṅga. In his Oxford History of India [1] Dr. Smith accepts the view that **Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga,** defeated Pushyamitra who is called Bahapatimita or Bahasatimita in the Hāthigumphā Inscription. Prof. Dubreuil also seems to endorse the view that Khāravela was an antagonist of Pushyamitra, and that the Hāthigumphā Inscription is dated the 165th year of Rāja-Muriyakāla which corresponds to the 13th year of the reign of Khāravela.

Dr. Majumdar, however, points out [2] that of the six letters of the Hāthigumphā Inscription which have been read as Bahasati-mitam, the second letter seems to have a clear *U* sign attached to it, and the third and fourth letters look like *pa* and *sa*. Even if the reading Bahasati-mitam or Bahapati-mitam be accepted as correct, the identification of Bahasati (Bṛihaspati-mitra) with Pushyamitra on the ground that Bṛihaspati is the regent of the nakshatra or Zodiacal asterism Pushya, also named Tishya, in the constellation Cancer or the Crab, cannot be regarded as final in the absence of further evidence.[3] In this connection we should note that the Divyāvadāna (p. 434) represents Pāṭaliputra as the residence of Pushyamitra whereas the Magadhan antagonist of Khāra-

[1] Additions and corrections, and p. 58n. *Cf.* also S. Konow in Acta Orientalia I. 29. S. Konow accepts Jayaswal's identification, Bahasatimita=Pushyamitra.

[2] Ind. Ant., 1919, p. 189.

[3] *Cf.* Chanda in IHQ, 1929, p. 595f.

vela is[1] called "Rājagahanapa" and apparently resided in the city of Rājagṛiha.

The date "165th year of the Muriyakāla" is deduced from a passage of the Hāthigumphā Inscription which was read as follows :[2]—

Pānaṃtariya-saṭhi-vasa-sate Rāja-Muriya-kāle vochchhine.

There is another passage in the same inscription which runs thus :—

Paṃchame cha dānî vase Naṇda-rāja ti-vasa-sata (m ?)—oghāṭitaṃ Tanasuliya-vāṭā-panāḍiṃ Nagaraṃ pavesa-ti.[3]

If Pānaṃtariya-saṭhi-vasa-sate be taken to mean 165 years, ti-vasa-sata should be taken to mean 103 years and we shall have to conclude that Khāravela flourished 165 years after a Maurya king and only 103 years after Nandarāja which is impossible as the Nandas preceded the Mauryas. If, on the other hand, ti-vasa-sata be taken to mean 300 years, pānaṃtariya-saṭhi-vasa-sate should be taken to mean not 165 but 6,500 years. In other words Khāravela will have to be placed 6,500 years after a Maurya which is also impossible. Mr. Jayaswal has himself now given up the reading "...pānaṃtariya-saṭhi-vasa-sate Rāja-Muriya-kāle vochchhine cha chhe-yaṭhi Argasi ti kaṃtāriyaṃ upādiyati" in line 16, and proposes to read "paṭāliko chatare cha veḍuriyagabhe thaṃbhe patiṭhāpayati

[1] According to Lüders' reading, Ep. Ind., X, App. No. 1345. With Jayaswal S. Konow (Acta Orientalia, I. 26) reads "Rājagaham upapiḍāpayati," though he admits that "Rājagahanapa (ṛp) piḍāpayati" is also possible.

[2] *Cf.* Bhagwanlal Indraji, Actes du sixième congrès international des Orientalistes, Pt. III, Section 2, pp. 133ff.; Jayaswal, JBORS, 1917, p. 459.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 455. For the interpretation of the passage, see p. 151 *supra*. Konow translates it differently :—"And now in the fifth year he has the aqueduct which was shut (or opened) in the year 103 (during the reign of) the Nanda king, conducted into the town from Tanasuliya Vāṭa.

pānatariyā sata-sahasehi. Muriya kālaṁ vochhiṁnaṁ cha choyaṭhi agasatikaṁtariyaṁ upādāyati." He translates the passage thus:—"on the lower-roofed terrace (*i.e.*, in the Verandah) he establishes columns inlaid with beryl at the cost of 75,00,000 (Paṇas); he (the king) completes the Muriya time (era), counted and being of an interval of 64 with a century." [1] With regard to this new reading and translation Professor Chanda observes [2] "the rendering of vochhine as 'counted' is even more farfetched than 'expired.' The particle *cha* after vochhine makes it difficult to read it as vochhinam qualifying the substantive Muriya-kālam. Even if we overlook vochhine, the passage appears to be a very unusual way of stating a date. Still more unusual is the statement of a date as an independent achievement in a praśasti." According to Fleet the use of the term "vochchhina" which is applied to sacred texts which have been 'cut off,' 'interrupted'—quite prohibits the existence of a date. It may be added that there is no reliable evidence of the existence of a Rāja-Muriya-kāla [3] in the sense of an era founded by the first Maurya. The use of regnal years by Aśoka points to the same conclusion.

Mr. Jayaswal takes ti-vasa-sata to mean 300 years and places Khāravela and Pushyamitra three centuries after Nandarāja whom he identifies with Nandavardhana. But we have already seen that Nandavardhana or Nandivardhana was a Śaiśunāga king and that the Śaiśunāgas do

[1] JBORS, Vol. IV, Part IV, p. 394 f.

[2] M. A. S. I., No. 1, p. 10. *Cf.* also **S. Konow** in *Acta Orientalia*, I, 14-21. Like Fleet **S. Konow** finds no date in the passage, but regards the reading Rāja Muriya kāla as certain. According to him Khāravela restored some texts missing in the time of the Maurya king Chandragupta. Barua does not regard the reading Muriya as certain.

[3] An era of Samprati, grandson of Aśoka, is however, mentioned in an ancient Jain MS. (EHI[4], p. 202n). If we refer the year 164 to this era, the date of Khāravela must be brought down to (*cir.* 224 − 164 =) 60 B. C.

not appear to have had anything to do with Kaliṅga. "It is not Nandivardhana but Mahāpadma Nanda who is said to have brought 'all under his sole sway' and 'uprooted all Kshatriyas' or the old reigning families. So we should identify "Naṁdarāja" of the Hāthigumphā inscription, who held possession of Kaliṅga either with the all-conquering Mahāpadma Nanda or one of his sons."[1] Professor Barua objects to the identification of "Naṁdarāja" the conqueror of Kaliṅga, with a king of the pre-Aśokan Nanda line on the ground that in the Aśokan inscriptions it is claimed that Kaliṅga was not conquered before Aśoka. But such claims are on a par with the Gupta boast that the Aśvamedha sacrifice had been revived after a long period of abeyance by Samudra Gupta. We know that as a matter of fact the claim, if taken too literally, had very little substance in it. The suggestion in the Cambridge History that Nandarāja may have been a local ruler of Kaliṅga is negatived by the internal evidence of the Hāthigumphā Inscription (*cf.* the passage—"Namdarāja nîtam Kaliṁgajina-saṁnivesam" which proves clearly that Nanda was an outsider). A post-Aśokan "neo-Nanda" line of Magadha is also unknown to sober history.

As Mahāpadma Nanda and his sons ruled in the fourth century B. C., Khāravela must be assigned either to the third century B. C. (taking ti-vasa-sata to mean 103)[2] or to the first century B. C. (taking ti-vasa-sata to mean 300). In either case he could not have been a contemporary of Pushyamitra Śuṅga who ruled from about 185 to 149 B.C.

[1] M. A. S. I., No I, p. 12.

[2] **Konow** (Acta Orientalia, Vol. I, pp. 22-26) accepts the date 103, but refers it (along with another date, 113, which he, with Fleet, finds in line 11) to a Jaina era. This era he is inclined to identify with that of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa. Apparently he is not aware of the existence of another Jaina reckoning, *viz.*, the era of Samprati.

The Yavana Invasion.

The only undoubted historical events of Pushyamitra's time, besides the *coup d'etat* of 185 B. C. and the Vidarbha war, are the Greek invasion from the North-West referred to by Patañjali and Kālidāsa, and the celebration of two horse sacrifices.

Patañjali was a contemporary of Pushyamitra. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar draws our attention to the passage in the Mahābhāshya—iha Pushyamitraṁ yājayāmaḥ "here we perform the sacrifices for Pushyamitra"—which is cited as an illustration of the Vārttika teaching the use of the present tense to denote an action which has been begun but not finished.[1] The instances given by Patañjali of the use of the imperfect to indicate an action well-known to people, but not witnessed by the speaker, and still possible to have been seen by him, are, "Arunad Yavanaḥ Sāketam : Arunad Yavano Madhyamikām." This, says Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, shows that a certain Yavana or Greek prince had besieged Sāketa or Ayodhyā and another place called Madhyamikā[2] when Patañjali wrote this. Kālidāsa in his Mālavikāgnimitram refers to a conflict between the Śuṅga prince Vasumitra and a Yavana on the southern bank of the Sindhu. Unfortunately the name of the invader is not given either in the Mahābhāshya or the Malavikāgnimitram. There is considerable divergence of opinion with regard to his identity. But all agree that he was a Bactrian Greek.

The **Bactrian Greeks** were originally subjects of the Seleukidan Empire of Syria (and Western Asia). We learn from Strabo, Trogus and Justin that "about the middle of the third century B.C. when the Seleukid rulers

[1] Ind. Ant., 1872, p. 300.

[2] Nāgari near Chitor; *cf.* Mbh., II. 32.8. Ind. Ant., VII. 267.

were pre-occupied in the west" Diodotos or Theodotus (?), "Governor of the thousand cities of Bactria," revolted and assumed the title of king. He was succeeded, according to Justin, by his son Theodotus II who entered into an alliance with Arsakes who about this time tore Parthia from the Seleukidan Empire.

The successor of Theodotus II (Diodotos II) was Euthydemos. We learn from Strabo[1] that Euthydemos and his party occasioned the revolt of all the country near the province of Bactriana. We are told by Polybius that Antiochos III of Syria made an attempt to recover the lost provinces but afterwards made peace with Euthydemos. The historian says, "Antiochos the Great received the young prince (Demetrios, son of Euthydemos) and judging from his appearance, conversation and the dignity of his manners that he was worthy of royal honour he first promised to give him one of his daughters, and secondly, conceded the royal title to his father. And having on the other points caused a written treaty to be drawn up and the terms of the treaty to be confirmed on oath, he marched away, after liberally provisioning his troops, and accepting the elephants belonging to Euthydemos. He crossed the Caucasus and descended into India; renewed his friendship with Sophagasenus, the king of the Indians; received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether, and having once more provisioned his troops, set out again personally with his army, leaving Androsthenes of Cyzicus, the duty of taking home the treasure which this king had agreed to hand over to him."

Not long after the expedition of Antiochos the Great, the Bactrian Greeks themselves formed the design of extending their kingdom by the conquest of the

[1] H. & F.'s Tr., Vol. II, p. 251.

territories lying to the south of the Hindukush. Strabo says, "the Greeks who occasioned its (Bactria's) revolt became so powerful that they became masters of Ariana and India, according to Apollodorus of Artemita. Their chiefs, particularly Menander (if he really crossed the Hypanis[1] to the east and reached Isamus[2]) conquered more nations than Alexander. These conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrios, son of Euthydemos, king of the Bactrians. They got possession not only of Patalene (the Indus Delta), but of the kingdoms of Saraostos (Surāshṭra or Kāthiāwār), and Sigerdis (probably Sāgaradvîpa of the Mahābhārata, II. 31. 66, Cutch?) which constitute the remainder of the coast. Apollodorus in short says that Bactriana is the ornament of all Ariana. They extended their empire even as far as the Seres and Phryni."[3]

Strabo gives the credit for spreading the Greek dominion furthest to the east into India partly to Menander and partly to Demetrios, son of Euthydemos and son-in-law of Antiochos the Great.

Menander has been identified with the king Milinda who is mentioned in the Milindapañho, as a contemporary of the Buddhist Thera Nāgasena, and also in the *Avadāna-kalpalatā* of Kshemendra.[4] This monarch was born at Kalsigrāma[5] in the Island of Alasanda or Alexandria[6] and had his capital at Sāgala or Śākala, modern Siālkoṭ, in the Pañjāb,[7] and not at Kābul as Dr. Smith seemed to think.[8] The extent of his conquests is indicated by the great variety and wide diffusion of his coins

[1] *i.e.*, the Hyphasis or Vipāśā (the Beas).

[2] The Trisāmā? In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (V. 19. 17) a river of this name is mentioned in conjunction with the Kauśikī, Mandākinī, Yamunā, etc.

[3] Strabo, Hamilton and Falconer, Vol. II, pp. 252-253.

[4] Smith, Catalogue of Coins, Indian Museum, p. 3.

[5] Trenckner, Milindapañho, p. 83.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 82 (CHI, 550).

[7] *Ibid*, pp. 3, 14.

[8] EHI, 1914, p. 225.

which have been found over a very wide extent of country as far west as Kābul and as far east as Mathurā.[1] The author of the Periplus states that small silver coins, inscribed with Greek characters and bearing the name of Menander, were still current in his time (*cir.* 60-80 A.D.) at the port of Barygaza (Broach). Plutarch tells us that Menander was noted for justice, and enjoyed such popularity with his subjects that upon his death, which took place in camp, diverse cities contended for the possession of his ashes. The statement of Plutarch is important as showing that Menander's dominions included many cities.

Demetrios has been identified by some with king Dattamitra mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*,[2] the "great Emetreus, the king of Inde" of Chaucer's *Knightes Tale* and Timitra of a Besnagar seal.[3] The wide extent of his conquests is proved by the existence of several cities named after him or his father in Afghanistān as well as India. Thus in the work of Isidore of Charax[4] we have a reference to a city named Demetrias polis in Arachosia. The Mahābhāshya and the Vyākaraṇa of Kramadîśvara mention a city in Sauvîra called Dāttāmitrî.[5] Ptolemy the Geographer mentions the city of Euthymedia (Euthydemia[6]) which was identical with Śākala,[7] and was, according to the Milindapañho, the capital of an Indo-Greek kingdom in the time of Menander.

It is permissible to conjecture that one of the two conquering kings, *viz.*, Menander and Demetrios, was identical with the Yavana invader who penetrated to

[1] SBE, Vol. XXXV, p. xx.
[2] I, 139, 23.
[3] EHI[4], pp. 254-255.
[4] JRAS, 1915, p. 830.
[5] Ind. Ant., 1911, Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population; Bomb. Gaz., I. ii. 11; Kramadîśvara, p. 96.
[6] *Cf.* Nonnos, McCrindle's Ancient India as described in Classical literature, p. 200.
[7] Ind. Ant., 1884, pp. 349-350.

Sāketa in Oudh, Madhyamikā near Chitor, and the river Sindhu in central India, in the time of Pushyamitra. Goldstücker, Smith and many other scholars identified the invader with Menander who crossed the Hypanis and penetrated as far as the Isamus (Trisāmā[1]?). On the other hand, Prof Bhandarkar suggested, in his Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population, the identification of the invader with Demetrios. We learn from Polybius that Demetrios was a young man at the time of Antiochos III's invasion (*cir.* 206 B. C.). Justin says that Demetrios was "king of the Indians" when Eukratides was king of the Bactrians and Mithridates was king of the Parthians. "Almost at the same time that Mithridates ascended the throne among the Parthians, **Eukratides** began to reign among the Bactrians; both of them being great men... Eukratides carried on several wars with great spirit, and though much reduced by his losses in them, yet, when he was besieged by Demetrios, king of the Indians, with a garrison of only 300 soldiers, he repulsed, by continual sallies, a force of 60,000 enemies." Dr. Smith assigns Mithridates to the period from 171 to 136 B.C. Eukratides and Demetrios must also be assigned to that period, that is, the middle of the second century B.C.

We have seen that Demetrios was a young man and a prince in 206 B.C. We now find that he ruled as king of the Indians in the middle of the second century B.C. He was, therefore, the Indo-Greek contemporary of Pushyamitra Śuṅga who ruled from 185 to 149 B.C. Menander, on the other hand, must have ruled over the Indo-Greek kingdom much later, as will be apparent from the facts noted below. Justin tells us that Demetrios was deprived of his Indian possessions by Eukratides.[2]

[1] Trisāmā is a river mentioned in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, together with the Kauśikī, Mandākinī, Yamunā, etc.

[2] Watson's tr., p. 277.

Eukratides was killed by his son with whom he had shared his throne.[1] The identity of the parricide is uncertain but no one says that he was Menander.[2]

Justin furnishes the important information that the prince who murdered Eukratides was a colleague of his father. We know that Greek rulers who reigned conjointly sometimes issued joint coins. Thus we have joint coins of Lysias and Antialkidas, of Strato and Agathokleia, of Strato I and Strato II, and of Hermaios and Kalliope. The only Greeks whose names and portraits appear on a coin together with those of Eukratides are **Heliokles** and his wife Laodike. Gardner suggested that Heliokles and Laodike were the father and mother of Eukratides. But Von Sallet[3] proposed an entirely different interpretation of the coins in question. He thought that they were issued by Eukratides, not in honour of his parents, but on the occasion of the marriage of his son Heliokles with a Laodike whom Von Sallet conjectured to have been daughter of Demetrios by the daughter of Antiochos III. If Von Sallet's conjecture be accepted then it is permissible to think that Heliokles was the colleague of Eukratides referred to by Justin, and the murderer of his father.

It is clear from what has been stated above that Demetrios was succeeded by Eukratides, who, in his turn, was

[1] *Ibid*, p. 277.

[2] According to Cunningham and Smith the parricide was Apollodotos. But Rapson shows good reasons for believing that Apollodotos did not belong to the family of Eukratides, but was, on the other hand, a ruler of Kāpiśa who was ousted by Eukratides (JRAS, 1905, pp. 784-785). Rawlinson points out (Intercourse between India and the Western World, p. 73) that Apollodotos uses the epithet Philopator, and the title would be somewhat incongruous if he were a parricide. It may be argued that the parricide was Apollodotos Soter and not Apollodotos Philopator, but we should remember that the titles Soter and Philopator sometimes occur on the same coin (Whitehead, Catalogue of Coins, p. 48) and therefore it is impossible to justify the separation of Apollodotos Soter and Apollodotos Philopator as two entities.

[3] Ind. Ant., 1880, p. 256.

followed by Heliokles. Menander could not have reigned earlier than Heliokles. It may, however, be argued that after Demetrios the Indo-Greek kingdom split up into two parts : one part which included the Trans-Indus territories was ruled by Eukratides and his son, the other part which included Euthymedia (Euthydemia) or Śākala was ruled by Menander who thus might have been a younger contemporary of Eukratides (*cir.* 171 B.C.) and consequently of Pushyamitra Śuṅga (*cir.* 185-149 B.C.).

Now, the disruption of the Indo-Greek kingdom after Demetrios may be accepted as an historical fact. The existence of two rival Greek kingdoms in India and their mutual dissensions are proved by literary and numismatic evidence. The Purāṇas say :—

> Bhavishyantîha Yavanā dharmataḥ kāmato'rthataḥ
> naiva mūrdhābhishiktās te bhavishyanti narādhipāḥ
> yuga-dosha-durāchārā bhavishyanti nṛpās tu te
> strînām bāla-vadhenaiva *hatvā chaiva parasparam*.

"There will be Yavanas here by reason of religious feeling or ambition or plunder; they will not be kings solemnly anointed but will follow evil customs by reason of the corruptions of the age. Massacring women and children and *killing one another*, kings will enjoy the earth at the end of the Kali age."[1]

The Gārgî Saṁhitā says—

> Madhyadeśe na sthāsyanti Yavanā yuddha durmadāḥ
> Teshām anyonya saṁbhāvā (?) bhavishyanti na saṁśayaḥ
> Ātma-chakrotthitaṁ ghoram yuddhaṁ parama-dāruṇam.

"The fiercely fighting Greeks will not stay in the Madhyadeśa; there will be a cruel, dreadful war in their own kingdom, caused between themselves."[2]

[1] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 56, 74.
[2] Kern, Bṛihat Saṁhitā, p. 38.

Coins bear testimony to struggles between kings of the house of Eukratides and kings of the family of Euthydemos. But the evidence which we have got clearly indicates that the contemporaries and rivals of Eukratides and Heliokles were **Apollodotos, Agathokleia** and **Strato I,** and not Menander. Certain square bronze coins of Eukratides have on the obverse a bust of the king and the legend "Basileus Megalou Eukratidou." On the reverse there is the figure of Zeus and the legend "Kavisiye nagara-devatā." They are often coins of Apollodotos restruck.[1] From this it is clear that Apollodotos was a rival of Eukratides and was superseded in the rule of Kāpiśa by the latter. Rapson further points out[2] that Heliokles restruck the coins of Agathokleia and Strato I ruling conjointly. Further, the restriking is always by Heliokles, never by Agathokleia and Strato I. From this it is clear that Agathokleia and Strato I ruled over an Indo-Greek principality either before, or in the time of Heliokles, but not after him.

We have seen that according to the evidence of Justin and the Kāpiśa coins Eukratides fought against two rivals, namely, Demetrios and Apollodotos, his son Heliokles also fought against two rivals, namely, Agathokleia and Strato I. As Demetrios and Apollodotos were both antagonists of Eukratides and used the same coin-types, the inevitable inference is that they were very near in time as well as in relationship to one another, in fact that one immediately followed the other. Now Demetrios was beyond doubt the son and successor of Euthydemos, consequently Apollodotos must have been his successor.

As Heliokles was a son of Eukratides, the rival of Apollodotos, he must have been a younger contemporary

[1] Rapson, JRAS, 1905, 785.

[2] JRAS, 1905, pp. 165 ff.

of Apollodotos. Consequently Heliokles' antagonists Agathokleia and Strato I, whose coins he restruck, were very near in time to Apollodotos. Strato I later on ruled conjointly with his grandson Strato II. There is no room for the long and prosperous reign of Menander in the period which elapsed from Demetrios to Strato II. According to the Buddhist tradition recorded in the Milindapañho, Milinda or Menander flourished "500 years"[1] after the Parinirvāna, parinibbānato pañcha-vassa sate atikkante ete upajjissanti.[2] This tradition probably points to a date in the first century B.C. for Menander. Thus both according to numismatic evidence and literary tradition Menander could not have been the Indo-Greek contemporary of Pushyamitra Śuṅga. It is Demetrios who should, therefore, be identified with the Yavana invader referred to by Patañjali and Kālidāsa, one of whose armies was defeated by Prince Vasumitra.[3]

The Aśvamedha Sacrifices.

After the victorious wars with Vidarbha and the Yavanas Pushyamitra celebrated two horse-sacrifices. These sacrifices are regarded by some scholars as marking an early stage in the Brāhmaṇical reaction which was fully developed five centuries later in the time of Samudra Gupta and his successors. Late Buddhist writers are alleged to represent Pushyamitra as a cruel persecutor of the religion of Śākyamuni. But the Buddhist monuments at Bhārhut

[1] *i.e.*, in the fifth century (*cf.* Smith EHI, 3rd edition, 328).

[2] Trenckner, the Milinda-pañho, p. 3.

[3] Konow (Acta Orientalia I. 35) points out that there is no evidence that Menander transgressed the river Yamunā, and that Demetrios was the ruler who besieged Sāketa and Madhyamikā.

In IHQ, 1929, p. 403, Mr. R. P. Chanda regards Strabo's attribution of the Indian conquests to Demetrios as doubtful. But the cities in the Pañjāb and the Lower Indus valley named after Demetrios and his father leave no room for doubt that Strabo is right.

erected "during the sovereignty of the Śuṅgas" do not bear out the theory that the Śuṅgas were the leaders of a militant Brāhmaṇism. Though staunch adherents of orthodox Hinduism the Śuṅgas do not appear to have been so intolerant as some writers represent them to be.

The Mantri-parishad in the Śuṅga Period.

If Kālidāsa is to be believed the Mantriparishad (Assembly of Councillors or Council of Ministers) continued to be an important element of the governmental machinery during the reign of Pushyamitra. The poet gives us the important information that even the viceregal princes were assisted by Parishads.[1] The Mālavikāgnimitram refers in clear terms to the dealings of Prince Agnimitra, the Viceroy of Vidiśā, with his Parishad :

"Deva evam Amātya-parishado vijñāpayāmi"[2]

"Mantri-parishado'pyetad-eva darśanam

Dvidhā vibhaktām śriyam-udvahantau
dhuraṁ rathāśvāviva saṁgrahîtuḥ
tau sthāsyatas-te nṛipater nideśe
paraspar-āvagraha-nirvikārau[3]

Rājā : tena hi Mantri-parishadaṁ brūhi senānye Vîrasenāya likhyatām-evaṁ kriyatām iti."[4]

It seems that the Amātya-parishad or Mantri-parishad was duly consulted whenever an important matter of foreign policy had to be decided.

[1] Bühler (Ep. Ind. III. 137) points out that Aśoka's Kumāras were also each assisted by a body of Mahāmātras. These probably correspond to the Kumārāmātyas of the Gupta period.

[2] "King ! I will announce this decision to the Council of Ministers."

[3] "This is also the view of the (Council of) Ministers. Those two kings, upbearing the fortune of their superior lord divided between them, as the horses upbear the yoke of the charioteer, will remain firm in their allegiance to thee, not being distracted by mutual attacks."

[4] "King : Tell the Council then to send to the General Vīrasena written instructions to this effect." (Tawney, Mālavikāgnimitra, pp. 89-90.)

II. Agnimitra and his Successors.

Pushyamitra died in or about 149 B.C. after a reign of 36 years,[1] and was succeeded by his son **Agnimitra**. The name of a prince named Agnimitra has been found on several copper coins discovered in Rohilkhand. Cunningham[2] was of opinion that this prince was probably not a Śuṅga, but belonged to a local dynasty of North Pañchāla (Rohilkhand). He gave two reasons for this conclusion :

1. Agnimitra's is the only coin-name found in the Purāṇic lists. The names of the other Mitra kings do not agree with those found in the Purāṇas.

2. The coins are very rarely found beyond the limits of North Pañchāla.

As to the first point Rivett-Carnac[3] and Jayaswal[4] have shown that several coin-names besides that of Agnimitra can be identified with those found in the Purāṇic lists of Śuṅga and Kāṇva kings; for example, Jethamitra may be identified with the successor of Agnimitra, Vasu-Jyeshṭha or Su-Jyeshṭha who is called simply Jyeshṭha in the *k* Vishṇu manuscript.[5] Bhadra-ghosha may be identified with Ghosha, the seventh king of the Purāṇic list of Śuṅga kings. Bhūmimitra may be identified with the Kāṇva king of that name. Several names indeed cannot be identified, but they may have been names of those Śuṅgas who survived the usurpation of Vasudeva Kāṇva, and the remnant of whose power was destroyed by the Andhra (? bhṛitya)s and Śiśunandi.[6]

[1] Only thirty years according to a Jaina tradition—"aṭṭhasayam Muriyāṇam tisaṇciya Pusamittassa" (IA. 1914. 118 f.).

[2] Coins of Ancient India, p. 79.

[3] Ind. Ant., 1880, 311.

[4] JBORS, 1917, p. 479.

[5] Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 31, n. 12.

[6] Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 49.

As to the second point we should remember that Mitra coins have been found at Kauśāmbî, Ayodhyā and Mathurā as well as in Pañchāla. Names of two Mitra kings, Brahmamitra and Indramitra, are found engraved on two rail pillars at Bodh Gayā as well as on coins discovered at Mathurā and North Pañchāla. In the face of these facts it is difficult to say that the Mitras were a local dynasty of North Pañchāla.

Agnimitra's successor, as we have already seen, was Jyeṣṭha of the *k* Vishṇu manuscript who is very probably identical with **Jethamitra** of the coins.[1]

The next king **Vasumitra** was a son of Agnimitra. During the life-time of his grandfather he had led the Śuṅga army against the Yavanas and defeated them on the Sindhu (apparently in Central India) which probably formed the boundary between the Śuṅga and Iṇdo-Greek dominions.

Vasumitra's successor is called Bhadraka in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Ārdraka and Odruka in the Vishṇu, Andhraka in the Vāyu, and Antaka in the Matsya Purāṇa. Mr. Jayaswal identifies him with Udāka mentioned in a Pabhosā inscription which runs thus: "By Āsāḍhasena, the son of Gopālî Vaihidarî and maternal uncle of king Bahasatimitra, son of Gopālî, a cave was caused to be made in the tenth year of Udāka for the use of the Kassapiya Arhats." We learn from another Pabhosā inscription that Āsāḍhasena belonged to the royal family of Adhichhatrā, the capital of North Pañchāla. Mr. Jayaswal maintains that Odraka (Udāka) was the paramount Śuṅga sovereign, while the family of Āsāḍhasena was either gubernatorial or feudatory to the Magadha throne. Marshall,[2] on the other hand, identifies the fifth Śuṅga with king Kāsîputra **Bhāgabhadra** mentioned in a Garuḍa Pillar Inscription found in the old

[1] Coins of Ancient India, p. 74.

[2] A Guide to Sāñchī, p. 11 n.

city of Vidiśā, now Besnagar. Mr. Jayaswal identifies Bhāga-bhadra with Bhāga Śuṅga, *i.e.*, Bhāgavata of the Purāṇas. This theory has to be given up in view of the discovery of another Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar Inscription (of the twelfth year after the installation of Mahārāja **Bhāgavata**) which proves that there was at Vidiśā a king named Bhāgavata apart from king Kāsîputra Bhāgabhadra. In the absence of clear evidence connecting Udāka with Vidiśā it cannot be confidently asserted that he belonged to the house of Agnimitra and Bhāgavata. The view of Marshall seems to be more probable.

It appears that the successors of Agnimitra at Vidiśā cultivated friendly relations with the Greek sovereigns of the Pañjāb. The policy of the Bactrian Greeks in this respect resembled that of their Seleukidan predecessors. Seleukos, we know, first tried to conquer the Magadha Empire, but, being frustrated in his attempts, thought it prudent to make friends with the Mauryas. The Bactrians, too, after the reverses they sustained at the hands of Pushyamitra's general, apparently gave up, for a time at least, their hostile attitude towards the Śuṅgas. We learn from the Besnagar Inscription of the reign of Bhāgabhadra that Heliodora, the son of Diya (Dion), a native of Taxila, came as an ambassador from Mahārāja Aṁtalikita (**Antialkidas**) to Rājan Kāsîputra Bhāgabhadra the Saviour (Trātāra), who was prospering in the fourteenth year of his reign. The ambassador, though a Greek, professed the Bhāgavata religion and set up a Garuḍa-dhvaja in honour of Vāsudeva, the god of gods. He was apparently well-versed in the Mahābhārata [1] which he might have heard recited in his native city of Taxila.

[1] The three immortal precepts (dama, chāga and apramāda), mentioned in the second part of Heliodora's inscription, occur in the Mahābhārata (V. 43.22; XI.7.23: Damas- tyāgo' pramādaścha te trayo Brahmaṇo hayāḥ). *Cf.* also Gita, XVI. 1.2. See JASB, 1922, pp. 269-271.

Nothing in particular is known regarding the three immediate successors of Bhadraka. The ninth king Bhāgavata had a long reign which extended over 32 years. Prof. Bhandarkar identifies him with the Mahārāja Bhāgavata mentioned in one of the Besnagar Inscriptions referred to above. Bhāgavata's successor **Devabhūti** or Devabhūmi was a young and dissolute prince. The Purāṇas state that he was overthrown after a reign of 10 years by his Amātya Vasudeva. Bāṇa in his Harsha-charita says that the over-libidinous Śuṅga was bereft of his life by his Amātya Vasudeva with the help of a daughter of Devabhūti's slave woman (Dāsî), disguised as his queen. Bāṇa's statement does not necessarily imply that Devabhūti was identical with the murdered Śuṅga. His statement may be construed to mean that Vasudeva entered into a conspiracy with the emissaries of Devabhūti to bring about the downfall of the reigning Śuṅga (Bhāgavata), and to raise Devabhūti to the throne. But in view of the unanimous testimony of the Purāṇas this interpretation of the statement of Bāṇa cannot be upheld.

The Śuṅga power was not altogether extinguished after the tragic end of Devabhūti. It probably survived in Central India[1] till the rise of the so-called Andhras, Andhrabhṛityas or Śātavāhanas who "swept away the remains of the Śuṅga power" and probably appointed Śiśunandi[2] to govern the Vidiśā region. Śiśunandi's younger brother had a grandson (dauhitra) named Śiśuka who became the ruler of Purikā. Curiously enough Śiśuka is also the Purāṇic name of the first king of the Andhra (? bhṛitya) dynasty. It is not improbable that the two Śiśukas were identical, and that after overthrowing the Śuṅgas, Śiśuka (Simuka of the Inscriptions) annexed Purikā but placed Vidiśā under his maternal relations.

[1] *Cf.* Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 49. [2] *Ibid*, 49.

III. Importance of the Śuṅga Period of Indian History.

The rule of the Śuṅga emperors marks an important epoch in the history of India in general and of Central India in particular. The renewed incursions of the Yavanas, which once threatened to submerge the whole of the Madhyadeśa, received a check, and the Greek dynasts of the borderland reverted to the prudent policy of their Seleukidan precursors. There was an outburst of activity in the domains of religion, literature and art, comparable to that of the glorious epoch of the Guptas. In the history of these activities the names of three Central Indian localities stand pre-eminent : Vidiśā (Besnagar), Gonarda and Bhārhut. As Foucher points out "it was the ivory-workers of Vidiśā who carved, in the immediate vicinity of their town, one of the monumental gates of Sāñchî." Inscriptions at Vidiśā (and Ghasundi) testify to the growing importance and wide prevalence of the Bhāgavata religion. Though no Aśoka arose to champion this faith, the missionary propaganda of its votaries must have been effective even in the realms of Yavana princes, and a Yavana dūta was one of its most notable converts. Gonarda was the birth-place of the celebrated Patañjali, the greatest literary genius of the period. Bhārhut saw the construction of the famous railing which has made the sovereignty of the Śuṅgas (Suganam raja) immortal.

The Fall of the Magadhan and Indo-Greek Powers.

I. The Kāṇvas, the Later Śuṅgas and the Later Mitras.

Vasudeva at whose instance the "over-libidinous Śuṅga" was "reft of his life" founded about 73 B.C. a new line of kings known as the Kāṇva or Kāṇvāyana dynasty. The Purāṇas give the following account of this family. "He (Vasudeva), the Kāṇvāyana, will be king 9 years. His son Bhūmimitra will reign 14 years. His son Nārāyaṇa will reign 12 years. His son Suśarman will reign 10 years. These are remembered as the Śuṅga-bhṛitya Kāṇvāyana kings. These four Kāṇva Brāhmaṇas will enjoy the earth. They will be righteous. In succession to them the earth will pass to the Andhras." **Bhūmimitra** seems to be identical with the king of that name known from coins.

The chronology of the Kāṇva dynasty is a matter of controversy. In his Early History of the Deccan, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar observes, "the founder of the Andhra-bhṛityas is said to have uprooted not only the Kāṇvas, but 'whatever was left of the power of the Śuṅgas.' And the Kāṇvas are pointedly spoken of as Śuṅga-bhṛityas or servants of the Śuṅgas. It, therefore, appears likely that when the princes of the Śuṅga family became weak, the Kāṇvas usurped the whole power and ruled like the Peshwas in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of their masters but reducing them to the character of nominal sovereigns. Thus then these dynasties reigned contemporaneously, and hence the 112 years that tradition assigns to the Śuṅgas include the 45 assigned to the Kāṇvas."

Now, the Purāṇic evidence only proves that certain princes belonging to the Śuṅga stock continued to rule till

the Andhra (? bhṛitya) conquest and were the contemporaries of the Kāṇvas. But there is nothing to show that these *rois faineants* of the Śuṅga stock were identical with any of the ten Śuṅga kings mentioned by name in the Purāṇic lists, who reigned 112 years. On the contrary, the distinct testimony of the Purāṇas that Devabhūti, the tenth and last Śuṅga of the Purāṇic lists, was the person slain by Vasudeva, the first Kāṇva, probably shows that the *rois faineants*, who ruled contemporaneously with Vasudeva and his successors, were later than Devabhūti, and were not considered to be important enough to be mentioned by name. Consequently the 112 years that tradition assigns to the ten Śuṅga kings from Pushyamitra to Devabhūti do not include the 45 assigned to the Kāṇvas. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to accept Dr. Smith's date B.C. 73-28 for the Kāṇva dynasty.

It is not known in what relationship the Kāṇvas and the Later Śuṅgas stood to the "**Mitra**" kings who were supplanted by the Satraps of Mathurā.[1] Among these Later Mitras, Vishṇumitra and Gomitra deserve mention.

II. The Śātavāhanas and the Chetas.

While the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas were engaged in their petty feuds, new powers were rising in trans-Vindhyan India. These were the Śātavāhana, Andhra or Andhra-bhṛitya kingdom of Dakshiṇāpatha and the Cheta or Cheti kingdom of Kaliṅga.

The founder of the **Śātavāhana**[2] or the so-called Andhra (? bhṛitya) dynasty was **Simuka** whose name is misspelt as **Śiśuka**, Sindhuka and Śipraka in the Purāṇas. Those

1 EHI.[3] 227n; IHQ., II.3.441. J.R.A.S., 1912, 122; Smith, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, 185,190, 194.

2 The form Sātivāhana is found in the Bhāgalapura Grant of Nārāyaṇapāla, and the form Śālivāhana in literature.

works state that the Andhra Simuka will assail the Kāṇvāyanas and Suśarman, and destroy the remains of the Śuṅgas' power and will obtain this earth. If this statement be true then it cannot be denied that Simuka flourished in the first century B.C. Dr. Smith and many other scholars however, reject the *unanimous* testimony of the Purāṇas. They attach more importance to a statement about which there is not the same unanimity, that the Andhras ruled for four centuries and a half. Accordingly they place Simuka in the third century B.C., and say that the dynasty came to an end in the third century A.D.

A discussion of Simuka's date involves the consideration of the following questions :—

1. What is the age of the script of the Nānāghāṭ record of Nāyanikā, daughter-in-law of Simuka?

2. What is the actual date of Khāravela's Hāthigumphā Inscription which refers to a Śātakarṇi who was apparently a successor of Simuka?

3. What is the exact number of Andhra (? bhṛitya) kings and what is the duration of their rule?

As to the first point we should note that according to Professor Chanda the inscription of Nāyanikā is later than the Besnagar Inscription of Bhāgavata, the penultimate king of the Early Śuṅga dynasty.[1] Consequently Simuka may be placed in the Kāṇva period, *i.e.*, in the first century B.C.—a date which accords with Purāṇic evidence.[2]

As to the second point Mr. R. D. Banerji gives good grounds for believing that the expression Ti-vasa-sata occurring in the passage "Pamchame cha dānī vase Namdarāja ti-vasa-sata ...." of the Hāthigumphā

[1] MASI., No. 1, pp. 14-15.

[2] Bühler also observes (ASWI., Vol. V, 65) that the characters of the Nānāghāṭ inscription belong to a period anterior by about 100 years to that of the edict of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and his son Pulumāyi.

Inscription means not 103 but 300.[1] This is also the view of Mr. Jayaswal and Professor Chanda.[2] If Ti-vasa-sata means 300 Khāravela and his contemporary Śātakarṇi must have flourished 300 years after Nandarāja, *i.e.*, in or about 23 B. C. This agrees with the Purāṇic evidence which makes Śātakarṇi's father a contemporary of the last Kāṇva king Suśarman (38-28 B. C.).

We now come to the third point, *viz.*, the determination of the exact number of Śātavāhana kings, and the duration of their rule.

Regarding each of these matters we have got two different traditions. As to the first the Matsya Purāṇa says—

"Ekona-viṁśatir-hyete Andhrā bhoksyanti vai mahīm," but it gives thirty names.

The Vāyu Purāṇa with the exception of the 'M' manuscript says—

"Ityete vai nṛipās triṁśad Andhrā bhokshyanti ye mahīm," but most of the Vāyu manuscripts name only seventeen, eighteen, or nineteen kings.

As to the duration of the Andhra rule several Matsya manuscripts say—

"Teshāṁ varsha śatāni syuś chatvāri shashṭir eva cha."

Another Matsya manuscript puts it slightly differently :—

"Dvādaśādhikam eteshāṁ rājyaṁ śata-chatushṭayam."

1 JBORS., 1917, 495-497.

2 In his fifth year Khāravela extended an aqueduct that had not been used for *ti-vasa-sata* since Nandarāja. If "*ti-vasa-sata*" is taken to mean 103 years, Khāravela's accession must be placed 103−5=98 years after Nandarāja. His elevation to the position of Yuvarāja took place 9 years before that date, *i.e.*, 98−9=89 years after Nandarāja (*i.e.*, not later than 323 B. C.−89=234 B. C.). Khāravela's father must have been on the throne at that time, and he was preceded by *his* father. But we learn from Aśoka's inscriptions that Kaliṅga was actually governed at that time by a Maurya Kumāra under the suzerainty of Aśoka himself. Therefore *ti-vasa-sata* should be taken to mean 300, and not 103, years.

While a Vāyu passage gives altogether a different tradition :

" Andhrā bhokshyanti vasudhām
śate dve cha śatam cha vai."

Obviously according to one tradition there were about nineteen kings who probably ruled for 300 years as the Vāyu says, while according to another tradition there were thirty kings the length of whose reigns covered a period of more than 400 years. In the opinion of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar the longer list includes the names of princes belonging to all the branches of the so-called Andhrabhṛitya dynasty, and that the longer period represents the total duration of the reigns of all the princes belonging to the several branches. The period of 300 years, and the seventeen, eighteen or nineteen names given in the Vāyu Purāṇa, and hinted at in the Matsya, refer to the main branch. That there was at least one line of Śātakarṇis, distinct from the main branch, is admitted by all. Inscriptions in Aparānta, in Kanara and in the north of Mysore testify to the existence of a family of Śātakarṇis who ruled over Kuntala (the Kanarese districts) before the Kadambas.[1] The Matsya list includes at least two kings of this line named Skandasvāti and Kuntala Śātakarṇi, who are passed over in silence by the Vāyu. *Skanda*-nāga-*Śātaka* actually appears as the name of a prince of the Kanarese line of Śātakarṇis in a Kanheri inscription.[2] As to Kuntala Śātakarṇi, the commentary on Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra takes the word " Kuntala " in the name Kuntala Śātakarṇi Śātavāhana to mean " Kuntala-vishaye jātatvāt tat-samākhyaḥ." It is, therefore, fair to conclude that the Matsya Purāṇa which mentions 30

1 A Śātavāhana of Kuntala is referred to by the Kāvya Mīmāṁsā (p. 50) as having ordered the exclusive use of Prākṛit in his harem. He may have been identical with the famous king Hāla (*cf.* Kuntala-janavayasiṇena Hālena, *ibid*, Notes, p. 9).

2 Rapson, Andhra Coins, liii. For a minister of this name see I.A., XIV., 334.

Śātavāhana kings includes not only the main branch but also the Kuntala line.

On the other hand, the Vāyu Purāṇa omits some of the Śātakarṇis of Kuntala and mentions only about 19 kings most of whom belonged to the main line whose rule lasted for 300 years. If the main line of Śātavāhana kings consisted only of about nineteen princes, and if the duration of their rule be three centuries, there is no difficulty in accepting the Purāṇic statement that Simuka flourished in the first century B.C., and that his dynasty ceased to rule in the Northern Deccan in the third century A.D. The Kuntala line lasted longer and did not come to an end before the fourth or fifth century A.D., when it was supplanted by the Kadambas. Thus the total duration of the rule of both the branches of Śātakarṇis is really more than 400 years. The kings of the Kuntala line are no doubt placed before the great Gautamîputra and his successors. But we have other instances of the inversion of the order of kings in the Purāṇas.[1]

Regarding the **original home** of the Śātavāhana family there is also a good deal of controversy. Some scholars think that the Śātavāhanas were not Andhras (Telugus) but merely Andhra-bhṛityas of Kanarese origin. In the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XIV (1917), Dr. Sukthankar edited an Inscription of Siri-Pulumāvi "king of the Śātavāhanas" which mentions a place called Śātavāhani-hāra.[2] The place occurs also in the Hira-Hadagalli copper-plate inscription of the Pallava king Śiva-skanda-varman in the slightly altered form of Sātāhani-raṭṭha. Dr. Sukthankar suggests that the territorial division

[1] See pp. 73, 81 *ante*. For the late date of Hāla see Bhand. Com. Vol., 189. *Cf.* Reference to Rādhā in the *Saptasatakam* (Ind. Ant., III. 25n.).

[2] See also Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, 1918-19, p. 21, 'On the Home of the so-called Andhra kings—V. S. Sukthankar. *Cf.* JRAS., 1923, 89 f.

Śātavāhani-Sātāhani must have comprised a good portion of the modern Bellary district, and that it was the original home of the Śātavāhana family. Other indications point to the territory immediately south of the Madhyadeśa as the original home of the Śātavāhana-Śātakarṇis. The Vinaya Texts[1] mention a town called "*Setakannika*" which lay on the southern frontier of the Majjhima-desa. It is significant that the earliest records of the Śātakarṇis are found in the Northern Deccan and Central India. The name Andhra probably came to be applied to the kings in later times when they lost their northern and western possessions and became a purely Andhra power governing the territory at the mouth of the river Kṛishṇā.[2]

There is reason to believe that the "Andhra," Andhrabhṛitya or Śātavāhana kings were Brāhmaṇas with a little admixture of Nāga blood. The Dvātriṁśat-puttalikā represents Śālivāhana (Śātavāhana) as of mixed **Brāhmaṇa and Nāga origin**. The Nāga connection is suggested by names like Nāga-nikā and Skanda-nāga-Śātaka, while the claim to the rank of Brāhmaṇa is actually put forward in an inscription. In the Nāsik praśasti of Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi the king is called "Eka Bamhana," *i. e.*, the unique Brāhmaṇa. Some scholars, however, are inclined to take Bamhana to mean merely a Brāhmaṇical Hindu, but this interpretation cannot be accepted in view of the fact that Gautamîputra is also called "Khatiya-dapa-māna-madana,"

[1] S.B.E., XVII. 38.

[2] For the origin and meaning of the names Śātavāhana and Śātakarṇi see also Camb. Hist. Ind. Vol., 1, p. 599n ; JBORS., 1917, December, p. 442n ; IHQ, 1929, 388, and JRAS., 1929, April. Both Barnett and Jayaswal connect them with the Sātiya-putas. Przyluski thinks that the names may have been sanskritised from Austro-Asiatic terms signifying "Son of horse." *Cf.* Aśvaka on the Godāvarī. For another interpretation see Aravamuthan, the Kaveri, the Maukharis, p. 51n. (*karni* = ship; *Vāhana* = Oar or Sail).

i. e., the destroyer of the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas. The expression "Eka-bamhana" when read along with the passage "Khatiya-dapa-māna-madana" leaves no room for doubt that Gautamîputra of the Śātavāhana family claimed to be a Brāhmaṇa like Paraśurāma. As a matter of fact in the praśasti the king is described as "the unique Brāhmaṇa in prowess equal to Rāma."

According to the Purāṇas Simuka gave the final *coup de grace* to the Śuṅga-Kāṇva power. He was succeeded by his brother **Krishṇa.** This king has been identified with Kaṇha "Rājā of the Sādavāhana-Kula" mentioned in a Nāsik inscription. The inscription tells us that a certain cave was caused to be made by an inhabitant of Nāsik in the time of King Kaṇha.

Kaṇha-Kṛishṇa was succeeded according to the Purāṇas by **Śātakarṇi.** This Śātakarṇi has been identified with—

(1) King Śātakarṇi Dakshiṇāpatha-pati, son of Simuka Śātavāhana mentioned in the Nānāghāṭ Inscription of Nāyanikā ;

(2) Śātakarṇi, lord of the west, who was defied by Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga ;

(3) Rājan Śrî Śātakarṇi of a Sāñchî Inscription ;

(4) The elder Saraganus mentioned in the Periplus ; and

(5) Śātakarṇi lord of Pratishṭhāna, father of Śakti-kumāra, mentioned in Indian literature.

The first and fifth identifications are accepted by all scholars. The second identification is also probable because the Purāṇas place Śātakarṇi, the successor of Kṛishṇa, after the Kaṇvas, *i.e.*, in the first century B.C., while the Hāthigumphā Inscription places Khāravela 300 years after Nanda-rāja, *i.e.*, in the first century B.C.

Marshall objects to the third identification on the ground that Śrî Śātakarṇi who is mentioned in the

Nānāghāṭ and Hāthigumphā Inscriptions reigned in the middle of the second century B.C.; his dominions, therefore, could not have included Eastern Mālwa (the Sāñchî region) which, in the second century B.C., was ruled by the Śuṅgas and not by the Andhras.[1] But we have seen that the date of the Hāthigumphā Inscription is the first century B.C. (300 years after Nanda-rāja). Moreover, the Purāṇas place the kings mentioned in the Nānāghāṭ Inscription not earlier than the Kāṇvas, *i. e*, the first century B.C. The identification of the successor of Kṛishṇa of the Śātavāhana family with Śātakarṇi of the Sāñchî Inscription, therefore, does not conflict with what is known of the history of Eastern Mālwa in the second century B.C. Lastly, it would be natural for the first Śātakarṇi to be styled simply Śātakarṇi or the elder Śātakarṇi (Saraganus, from a Prākṛit form like Sāḍaganna) while it would be equally natural for the later Śātakarṇis to be distinguished from him by the addition of a geographical designation like Kuntala, or a metronymic like Gautamîputra or Vāsishṭhîputra.

We learn from the Nānāghāṭ Inscriptions that Śātakarṇi, son of Simuka, entered into a matrimonial alliance with the powerful Aṁgiya family, the scions of which were called Mahāraṭhi, and became sovereign of the whole of Dakshiṇāpatha. He also conquered Eastern Mālwa and performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice. The conquest of Eastern Mālwa is proved by the Sāñchî Inscription which records the gift of a certain Ānaṁda, the son of Vasiṭhî, the foreman of the artisans of Rājan Siri-Sātakaṇi. Śātakarṇi seems to have been the first prince to raise the Śātavāhanas to the position of paramount sovereigns of Trans-Vindhyan India. Thus arose the first great empire in the Godāvarî valley which rivalled

[1] A Guide to Sāñchî, p. 13.

in extent and power the Śuṅga empire in the Ganges valley and the Greek empire in the Land of the Five-Rivers. According to the evidence of Indian as well as classical literature,[1] the capital of the Śātavāhana Empire was at Pratishṭhāna, "the modern Paithan on the north bank of the Godāvarî in the Aurangabad District of Hyderabad."

After the death of Śātakarṇi his wife Nāyanikā or Nāganikā, daughter of the Mahāraṭhi Tranakayiro Kalalāya, the scion of the Aṁgiya family, was proclaimed regent during the minority of the princes Vedaśrî and Śakti-Śrî (Sati-Sirimata) or Haku-Siri. The last mentioned prince is probably identical with Śakti-kumāra, son of Śālivāhana, mentioned in Jaina literature.[2]

Early Śātavāhanas

Śātavāhana-kula

Simuka

Śātakarṇi I = King of Dakshiṇāpatha

Kṛishṇa

Aṁgiya-kula

Kalalāya Mahāraṭhi Aṁgiya-kula-vardhana Mahāraṭhi Tranakayiro

Devî Nāyanikā.

Vedaśri

Śakti Śrîmat

The Śātavāhanas were not the only enemies of Magadha in the first century B. C. We learn from the Hāthigumphā Inscription that when Śātakarṇi was ruling in the west, **Khāravela of Kaliṅga** carried his arms to Northern India and humbled the king of Rājagṛiha.

Khāravela belonged to the **Cheta** dynasty. Prof. Chanda points out that Cheta princes are mentioned in the Vessantara Jātaka (No. 547). The Milinda-pañho contains a statement which seems to indicate that the

[1] *Cf.* Jinaprabhasuri's Tirthakalpa, JBBRAS, X. 123 and Ptolemy's Geography, vii. 1. 82. See also *Āvaśyaka Sūtra*, JBORS., 1930, 290.

[2] *Vîracharitra*, Ind. Ant., VIII, 201.

Chetas were connected with the Chetis or Chedis. The particulars given in that work regarding the *Cheta* king Sura Parichara agree with what we know about the *Chedi* king Uparichara.[1]

Very little is known regarding the history of Kaliṅga from the death of Aśoka to the rise of the Cheta dynasty in the first century B. C. (three hundred years after the Nandas). The names of the first two kings of the Cheta line are not given in the Hāthigumphā inscription. Lüders Ins. No. 1347 mentions a king named Vakradeva (Vakadepa or Kudepa?). But we do not know whether he was a predecessor or successor of Khāravela.

During the rule of the second king, who must have reigned for at least 9 years, Khāravela occupied the position of Yuvarāja. When he had completed his 24th year, he was anointed Mahārāja of Kaliṅga.[2] In the first year of his reign he repaired the gates and ramparts of his capital, Kaliṅga-nagara. In the next year, without taking heed of Śātakarṇi, he sent a large army to the west and took the city of Masika (?)[3] with the help of the Kusambas. He followed up his success by further operations in the west and, in his fourth year, compelled the Rāṭhikas and Bhojakas to do him homage. In the fifth year he had an aqueduct that had not been used for 300 years since Nandarāja conducted into his capital.

Emboldened by his successes in the Deccan the Kaliṅga king turned his attention to the North. In the eighth year he stormed Gorathagiri and harassed (the king

[1] Rhys Davids, Milinda, p. 287; Mbh. I, 63, 14. According to Sten Konow (*Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, 1923, p. 38) *Ceti* (not *Ceta*) is the designation of the dynasty of Khāravela occurring in the Hāthīgumphā Inscription.

[2] Khāravela's chief queen was the daughter of a prince named Lālāka, the great grandson of Hathisiṁha.

[3] Barua reads Aśvaka or Ṛṣika (Old Brāhmī Ins., p. 176).

of ?) Rājagṛiha.[1] If Mr. Jayaswal is right in identifying this king with Bṛihaspatimitra, then king Bṛihaspati must have ruled over Magadha after the Kāṇva dynasty. Udāka of the Pabhosā Inscription, who came later than Bṛihaspatimitra, cannot, in that case, be identified with the fifth Śuṅga king who must be identified with Bhāgabhadra.

The attack on Northern India was repeated possibly in the tenth and certainly in the twelfth year. In the tenth year the Kaliṅga king in the opinion of some scholars overran Bhāratavarsha, which is taken to refer to upper India.

In the twelfth year he claims to have harassed the kings of Uttarāpatha and watered his elephants in the Gaṅgā. The north-western expeditions apparently led to no permanent result. But in north-eastern India the Kaliṅga king was more successful; the repeated blows certainly "struck terror into the Magadhas," and compelled the Magadha king (Bṛihaspatimitra ?) to bow at his feet. Having subjugated Magadha, and Aṅga, the invader once more turned his attention to southern India. Already in his eleventh year "he had had Pithuḍa ploughed with a plough drawn by an ass."[2] Lévi[3] identifies this city with Pihunda of the Uttarādhyayana (21), and Pitundra, metropolis of Ptolemy in the interior of the country of Masulipatam (Maisoloi). The conqueror seems to have pushed further to the south and made his power felt even by the king of the Pāṇḍya country. In the thirteenth year Khāravela erected pillars on the Kumārī Hill in the vicinity of the dwelling of the Arhats.

[1] Some scholars find in line 8 of the Hāthigumphā Ins. a reference to the Yavana-rāja (Ḍi) ma (ta), *i.e.*, Demetrios who "went off to Mathurā in order to relieve his generals who were in trouble" (Acta Orientalia, I. 27). But the reading is doubtful (*cf.* Barua, Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves, pp. 17-18).

[2] Barua interprets the passage differently.

[3] Ind. Ant. 1926, 145.

III. The End of Greek Rule in North-West India.

While the Magadhan monarchy was falling before the onslaughts of the Śātavāhanas and the Chetas, the Greek power in the North-West was also hastening towards dissolution. We have already referred to the feuds of Demetrios and Eukratides. The dissensions of these two princes led to a double succession, one derived from Demetrios holding Śākala (Śiālkoṭ) with a considerable portion of the Indian interior, the other derived from Eukratides holding Takshaśilā, Pushkarāvatî, Kāpiśa and Bactria. According to Gardner and Rapson, Apollodotos, Antimachos, Pantaleon, Agathokles, Agathoklea, the Stratos, Menander, Dionysios, Zoilos, Hippostratos and Apollophanes belonged to the **house of Euthydemos** and Demetrios. Most of these sovereigns used the same cointypes, specially the figure of the goddess Athene hurling the thunderbolt, which is characteristic of the Euthydemian line. Pantaleon and Agathokles strike coins with almost identical types.[1] They both adopt the metal nickel for their coins, and they alone use in their legends the Brāhmî alphabet. They seem, therefore, to have been closely connected probably as brothers. It is not improbable that Agathokleia was their sister. Agathokles (and possibly Antimachos) issued a series of coins in commemoration of Alexander, Antiochos Nikator (Antiochos III Megas according to Malala), Diodotos, and Euthydemos.

Apollodotos, the Stratos, Menander and some later kings used the Athene type of coins. Apollodotos and Menander are mentioned together in literature. The author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea says that "to the present day ancient drachmae are current in Barygaza bearing inscriptions in Greek letters, and the devices of those who

[1] Dancing girl in oriental costume according to Whitehead; Māyā, mother of the Buddha, in the nativity scene according to Foucher (JRAS., 1910, p. 90).

reigned after Alexander, Apollodotos and Menander." Again, in the title of the lost forty-first book of Justin's work, Menander and Apollodotos are mentioned as Indian kings.[1] It appears from the Milindapañho that the capital of the dynasty to which Menander belonged was Śākala or Śāgala.[2] We learn from Ptolemy the geographer and Nonnos that the city had another name Euthymedia or Euthydemia a designation which was probably derived from the Euthydemian line.

To the **family of Eukratides** belonged Heliokles and probably Lysias and Antialkidas who ruled conjointly. A common type of Antialkidas is the Pilei of the Dioscuri, which seems to connect him with Eukratides ; his portrait according to Gardner resembles that of Heliokles. It is not improbable that he was an immediate successor of Heliokles.[3] A Besnagar Inscription makes him a contemporary of Kāsîputra Bhāgabhadra of Vidiśā who probably ruled in the third quarter of the second century B. C. (sometime after Agnimitra). The capital of Antialkidas was probably at Takshaśilā or Taxila, the place whence his ambassador Heliodoros went to the kingdom of Bhāgabhadra. But his dominions seem also to have included Kāpiśi.[4] After his death the western Greek kingdom probably split up into three parts, *viz.*, Takshaśilā (ruled by Archebios), Pushkalāvatî (governed by Diomedes, Epander, Philoxenos, Artemidoros, and Peukelaos), and Kāpiśi held successively by Amyntas and Hermaeus (Hermaios).

The Greek power must have been greatly weakened by the feuds of the rival lines of Demetrios and Eukratides. The evils of internal dissension were aggravated by foreign

1 Rhys Davids, Milinda, p. xix. *Cf.* JASB., *aug.* 1833.

2 "Atthi Yonakānaṁ nānāpuṭabhedanam Sāgalannāma nagaram." "Jambudipe Sāgala nagare Milindo nāma Rājā ahosi." "Atthi kho Nāgasena Sāgalaṁ nāma nagaraṁ, tattha Milindo nāma Rājā rajjam kāreti."

3 Gardner, Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, p. xxxiv.

4 Camb. Hist., 558.

inroads. We learn from Strabo[1] that the **Parthians** deprived Eukratides by force of arms of a part of Bactriana, which embraced the satrapies of Aspionus and Turiva (possibly Aria and Arachosia according to Macdonald). There is reason to believe that the Parthian king Mithradates I penetrated even into India. Orosius, a Roman historian who flourished about 400 A.D., makes a definite statement to the effect that Mithridates or Mithradates subdued the natives between the Hydaspes[2] and the Indus. His conquest thus drove a wedge between the kingdom of Eukratides and that of his rival of the house of Euthydemos.

The causes of the final downfall of the Bactrian Greeks are thus stated by Justin: "the Bactrians harassed by various wars lost not only their dominions but their liberty; for having suffered from contentions with the Sogdians, the Drangians and the Indians they were at last overcome as if exhausted by the weaker Parthians."[3]

The **Sogdians** were the people of the region now known as Samarkand and Bukhārā. They were separated from Bactriana by the Oxus. By the term Sogdian Justin probably refers not only to the Sogdiani proper but also to the well-known tribes which, according to Strabo,[4] deprived the Greeks of Bactriana, *viz.*, the Asii, Pasiani, Tochari, Sacarauli and the Sacae or Śakas. The story of the Śaka occupation of the Indo-Greek possessions will be told in the next chapter. The Latin historian Pompeius Trogus describes how Diodotos had to fight Scythian tribes, the

[1] H. & F.'s Tr., Vol. II, pp. 251-253.

[2] In the Cambridge History, p. 568, however, this river has been identified with a Persian stream, the Medus Hydaspes of Virgil.

[3] Sten Konow translates the passage from Justin thus: The Bactrians lost both their empire and their freedom, being harassed by the Sogdians, the Arachoti, the Drangae and the Arei, and finally oppressed by the Parthians (Corpus, ii. 1, xxi-xxii).

[4] H. and F.'s Tr., Vol. II, pp. 245-246.

Sarancae (Saraucae) and Asiani, who finally conquered Sogdiana and Bactria. The occupation of Sogdiana probably entitled them to the designation Sogdian used by Justin. Sten Konow[1] suggests the identification of the Tochari of the Classical writers with the Ta-hia of the Chinese historians. He further identifies the Asii, Asioi or Asiani with the Yüe-chi. We are inclined to identify the Tochari with the Tukhāras who formed an important element of the Bactrian population in the time of Ptolemy and are described by that author as a great people.[2] They are apparently "the warlike nation of the Bactrians" of the time of the Periplus.

The **Drangians** referred to by Justin inhabited the country between Areia, Gedrosia and Arachosia, including the province now called Sīstān (Śakasthāna). Numismatic evidence indicates that a Drangian family, *viz.*, the **dynasty of Vonones** supplanted Greek rule in a considerable part of Afghanistān specially in Arachosia. Vonones is a Parthian (Imperial) name. Hence some scholars call his dynasty a Parthian family. But names are not sure proofs of nationality. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar calls the dynasty Śaka.[3] The best name for the family would be Drangian, because their home territory was Drangiana. On coins Vonones is associated with two princes, *viz.*,

(*i*) Spalahora who is called Mahārāja-bhrātā.
(*ii*) Spalaga-dama, son of Spalahora.

There is one coin which Thomas and Cunningham attributed to Vonones and Azes I. But the coin really belongs to Maues.[4] There is a silver coin of a prince named

1 *Modern Review*, April, 1921, p. 464. Corpus, II. 1, lvii f.

2 Ind. Ant., 1884, pp. 395-396.

3 Isidore of Charax (ZDMG., 1906, pp. 57-58; JRAS., 1915, p. 831) refers to Sigal in Sacastene as the residence of a Śaka (not Parthian) king in the first century A.D.

4 Whitehead, Catalogue of Coins in the Panjāb Museum, p. 93. Smith, *Catalogue*, 38.

Spalirises which bears on the obverse the legend Basileus Adelphoy Spalirisoy, and on the reverse "Maharaja Bhrata Dhramiasa Śpaliriśasa," *i.e.*, Spalirises the Just, brother of the king. This king has been identified with Vonones. Vonones thus was a supreme ruler, and he appointed his brothers Spalahora and Spalirises viceroys to govern the provinces conquered by him, and after the death of the former, conferred the viceroyalty on his nephew Spalagadama.[1] Vonones was succeeded as supreme ruler by his brother Spalirises. The coins of Spalirises present two varieties, *viz.*,

1. Coins which bear his name alone in both the legends :

2. Coins on which his name occurs on the obverse in the Greek legend, and those of Azes on the reverse in the Kharoshṭhî legend. The second variety proves that Spalirises had a colleague named Azes who governed a territory where the prevailing script was Kharoshṭhī. This Azes has been identified with king Azes of the Pañjāb about whom we shall speak in the next chapter.

As regards the Indian enemies of the Bactrian Greeks we must refer in the first place to the Śuṅgas who are represented in Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitram as defeating the Yavanas on the Sindhu. An Indian named Bhadrayaśas seems to have had some share in the destruction of the Greek Kingdom of the Eastern Pañjāb. The Nāsik praśasti of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi represents that king as the destroyer of the Yavanas, apparently of Western India.

The final destruction of Greek rule was, as Justin says, the work of the Parthians. Marshall tells us[2] that the last surviving Greek principality, that of Hermaios in the

[1] One specimen of the coins of Spalirises has been restruck on a copper coin of Spalyris and Spalagadama (Corpus, II. 1, xli). This proves that Spalirises was later than Spalyris and Spalagadama.

[2] A Guide to Taxila, p. 14.

Kābul valley, was overthrown by the Parthian king Gondophernes.[1] The Chinese historian Fan-ye also refers to the Parthian occupation of Kābul.[2] "Whenever any of the three kingdoms of Tien Tchou, Ki-pin or Ngansi became powerful, it brought Kābul into subjection. When it grew weak it lost Kābul... .....Later, Kābul fell under the rule of Parthia."[3]

---

[1] Among the latest kings of the Kābul valley was king Theodamas whose existence is disclosed by a Bijaur Seal inscription (Corpus, II. i. 6).

[2] JRAS., 1912, 676; Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. I, p. 81.

[3] For the results of India's contact with the Hellenic world in the domains of religion, administration, literature, science and art see Bhandarkar, "Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population" (Ind. Ant., 1911); Raychaudhuri, "Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect," p. 105; Foucher, "The Beginnings of Buddhist Art," pp. 9, 111 f.; Coomaraswamy, "History of Indian and Indonesian Art," pp. 41 f.; Sten Konow, "Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum," Vol. II, pt. 1, xv; Hopkins, "Religions of India," p. 544 f.; Keith, "The Sanskrit Drama," p. 57 f.; Keith, "A History of Sanskrit Literature," pp. 352 f.; Max Müller, "India—What can it teach Us," pp. 321 f.; Smith, EHI[4], pp. 251-6; "A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon," Chap. XI; Imp. Gaz., *The Indian Empire*, Vol. II, pp. 105 f., 137 f., etc.

Scythian Rule in Northern India.

I. The Śakas.

In the second and first centuries B.C., Greek rule in parts of Kāfiristān, Gandhāra and the Hazāra country (?) was supplanted by that of the Śakas. The history of the First Han Dynasty states "formerly when the Hiung-nu conquered the Ta-Yüe-tchi the latter emigrated to the west, and subjugated the Tahia; whereupon the Sai-wang went to the south, and ruled over Kipin." [1] Sten Konow points out that the Sai-wang are the same people which are known in Indian tradition under the designation Śaka-muruṇḍa,[2] Muruṇḍa being a later form of a Śaka word which has the same meaning as Chinese "wang," *i.e.*, master, lord. In Indian inscriptions and coins it has frequently been translated with the Indian word Svāmin.

The name of the Śaka king who occupied Kipin is not known. The earliest ruler of that region mentioned in Chinese records is Wu-t'ou-lao whose son was ousted by Yin-mo-fu, the son of the prince of Jung-k'ü, who established himself as king of Kipin during the reign of the Emperor Hsüan-ti, which lasted from 73 to 48 B. C., and killed the envoys sent in the reign of the Emperor Yüan-ti (B. C. 48-32). In the reign of Chéng-ti (32-7 B. C.) the support of China was sought without success by the king of Kipin, probably the successor of Yin-mo-fu, who was in danger from some powerful adversary, apparently a king of the Yue-chi, who had relations with China about this time

[1] JRAS., 1903, p. 22; *Modern Review*, April, 1921, p. 464.

[2] Professor Herrmann identifies the Sai-wang with the Sakarauloi or Sakaraukoi of Strabo and other classical authors. Corpus, II. 1. xxi. For Muruṇḍa, see p. xx.

as is proved by the communication of certain Buddhist books to a Chinese official in 2 B. C.[1]

S. Lévi identifies Kipin with Kaśmîra. But his view has been ably controverted by Sten Konow [2] who accepts the identification with Kāpiśa.[3] Gandhāra was the eastern part of Kipin. A passage of Hemachandra's Abhidhāna-Chintāmaṇi seems to suggest that the capital of the Sai-wang (Śaka-Muraṇḍāḥ) was Lampāka or Laghman (Lampākāstu Muraṇḍāḥ syuḥ). Sten Konow says that according to the Ts'ien Han-shu, or *Annals of the First Han Dynasty*, the Sai, *i.e.*, the Śakas, passed the *Hientu* (the hanging passage), *i.e.*, the gorge west of Skardu on their way to Kipin.[4] Though the Śakas wrested Kipin (Kāpiśa-Gandhāra) from the hands of the Greeks they could not permanently subjugate Kābul,[5] where the Greeks maintained a precarious existence. They were more successful in India. Inscriptions at Mathurā and Nāsik prove that the Śakas extended their sway as far as the Jumna in the east and the Godāvarî in the south, and destroyed the power of the Mitras of Mathurā and the Śātavāhanas of Paithan.

No connected or detailed account of the Śaka kings of Kipin is possible. Śakas are mentioned along with the Yavanas in the Rāmāyaṇa,[6] the Mahābhārata,[7] the Manusaṁhitā [8] and the Mahābhāshya.[9] The Harivaṁśa[10] informs us that they shaved one-half of their heads. The Jaina work

[1] *Calc. Rev.*, Feb., 1924, pp. 251, 252.; Smith, EHI., p. 258 n.; JRAS., 1913, 647. Ind. Ant., 1905, *Kashgar and the Kharoshṭhī.*

[2] Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 291.

[3] The country drained by the northern tributaries of the river Kābul, *ibid.*, p. 290; *cf.* Watters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. I, pp. 259-260. Kipin according to the Tsien Han shu joins Wu-i-shan-li (Arachosia) on the south-west. Corpus, II. 1. xxiv; JRAS., 1912, 684 n. *Cf.* Dr. Herrmann (JRAS., 1913. 1058 n.) who holds that Ki-pin was Gandhāra.

[4] Ep. Ind., XIV, 291. Corpus, II. 1. xxiii. For possible alternative routes of conquest, see JRAS., 1913, 929, 959, 1008, 1023.

[5] Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. I, p. 81.

[6] I, 54. 22; IV. 43, 12. [7] II, 32. 17. [8] X. 44.

[9] Ind. Ant., 1875, 244. [10] Chap. 14, 16.

Kālakāchārya-kathānaka states that their kings were called Sāhi.[1] Some of these 'Sāhis' were induced by a Jaina teacher to proceed to Suraṭṭha (Surāshṭra) Vishaya and Ujjain in Hindukadeśa (India) where they overthrew some local chiefs and ruled for four years till they were themselves ousted by the founder of the era of 58 B. C.

The Śakas are also mentioned in the Praśastis of Gautamîputra Śātakarni and Samudra Gupta. Their kingdom or empire "Śakasthāna" is probably mentioned in the Mahāmāyūrî (95) and in the Mathurā Lion Capital Inscription. The passage in the inscription containing the word Śakasthāna runs thus :—

Sarvasa Sakastanasa puyae.

Cunningham interpreted the passage as meaning "for the merit of the people of Śakastān." Dr. Fleet, however, maintained that "there are no real grounds for thinking that the Śakas ever figured as invaders of any part of northern India above Kāthiāwāḍ and the western and southern parts of the territory now known as Mālwa." He took Sarva to be a proper name and translated the inscriptional passage referred to above as "a gift of Sarva in honour of his home."[2]

Fleet's objection is ineffective. Chinese evidence clearly establishes the presence of Śakas in Kipin, *i.e.*, Kāpiśa-Gandhāra. As regards the presence of the tribe at Mathurā, the site of the inscription, we should note that the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa[3] refers to a Śaka settlement in the Madhyadeśa. Dr. Thomas[4] points out that the epigraphs on the Lion Capital exhibit a mixture of Śaka and Persian nomenclature. The name Mevaki, for instance, which

[1] ZDMG., 34, p. 262. Ind. Ant., X. 222.

[2] JRAS., 1905, 155; Mr. N. G. Majumdar (JASB., 1924, 17) takes Sakastana to mean Śakrasthāna, *i.e.*, 'the place of Indra.' *Cf.* Fleet in JRAS., 1904, 705.

[3] Chapter 58.

[4] Ep. Ind., IX, pp. 138 ff.

occurs in the inscriptions is a variant of the Scythian name Mauakes.[1] The termination "-ūs" in Komūsā and °Śamūśo seems to be Scythic. Dr. Thomas further points out that there is no difficulty in the expression of honour to the "whole realm of the Śakas" since we find in the Wardak, Sui Vihār and other inscriptions even more comprehensive expressions, *e.g.*, Sarva sattvanam—of all living creatures. As regards Fleet's renderings "svaka" and "sakatthana" one's own place, Dr. Thomas says that it does not seem natural to inscribe on the stone honour to somebody's own home. A pūjā addressed to a country is unusual, but inscription G of the Lion Capital contains a similar pūjā addressed to the chief representatives of the Śaka dominion.

Śakasthāna, doubtless, included the district of Scythia mentioned in the Periplus, "from which flows down the river Sinthus, the greatest of all the rivers that flow into the Erythraean Sea." The metropolis of "Scythia" in the time of the Periplus was Minnagara; and its market town was Barbaricum on the seashore.

Princes bearing Śaka names are mentioned in several inscriptions discovered in Taxila, Mathurā and western India. According to Dr. Thomas "whatever Śaka dynasties may have existed in the Pañjāb or India, reached India neither through Afghanistān nor through Kaśmīra but, as Cunningham contended, by way of Sind and the valley of the Indus."[2] This theory cannot be accepted in its entirety in view of the Chinese account of the Śaka occupation of Kipin and the epigraphic evidence regarding the existence of a Scythian Satrapy at Kāpiśi and a Śaka principality in the Hazāra country.[3] We cannot also overlook the fact that some of the Śaka names hitherto discovered

[1] *Cf.* Maues, Moga, and Mavaces, the commander of the Śakas who went to the aid of Darius Codomannus (Chinnock, Arrian, p. 142). *Cf.* also the coin-name Mevaku (Corpus, XXXIII n).

[2] JRAS., 1906, p. 216.

[3] JASB., 1924, p. 14. S. Konow, Corpus, II. i. 13 f.

are those of the Northern Śakas who lived near the Sogdianoi,[1] *e.g.*, the names Maues, Moga (Taxila plate) and Mevaki (Mathurā Lion Capital) are variants of the Śaka name Mauakes. We learn from Arrian that a chief named Mauakes or Mavaces led the "Sacians, a Scythian tribe belonging to the Scythians who dwelt in Asia," who lived outside the jurisdiction of the Persian governor of the Bactrians and the Sogdianians, but were in alliance with the Persian king. Chhaharata(?), Kshaharāta or Khakharāta, the family designation of several Satrapal houses of Taxila, Mathurā and of Western and Southern India, is perhaps equivalent to Karatai the name of a Śaka tribe of the North.[2]

The conquest of the Lower Indus valley, Cutch and part of Western India may, however, have been effected by the Śakas of western Śakasthāna (Sîstān) who are mentioned by Isidore of Charax. The name of the capitals of "Scythia" (*i.e.*, the Lower Indus valley) and of the Kingdom of Mambarus (Nambanus?) in the time of the Periplus was Minnagara, and this was evidently derived from the city of Min in Śakasthāna mentioned by Isidore.[3] Rapson points out that one of the most characteristic features in the names of the western Kshatrapas of Chashṭana's line, *viz.*, "Dāman" (-dama) is found also in the name of a prince of the Drangianian house of Vonones. Lastly, the Kārddamaka family from which the daughter of the Mahākshatrapa Rudra claimed descent, apparently derived its name from the Kārddama river in Persia.[4]

[1] Ind. Ant., 1884, pp. 399-400.

[2] Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 400; *cf.* Corpus, II. i. xxxvi: "Kharaosta and Maues would belong to the north-western Śakas of Ki-pin and not to the branch which came to India from Seistān." *Cf.* XXXIII (case of Liaka).

[3] JRAS., 1915, p. 830.

[4] Shamasastry's trans. of the Arthaśāstra, p. 86, n. 6. For another view see Ind. Ant., XII. 273 n. The word *Kārdamika* occurs in the *Mahābhāshya* (word Index, p. 275).

The earliest Śaka kings mentioned in Indian inscriptions are, perhaps, Damijada[1] and **Maues** (usually identified with Moga of the Taxila plate and possibly mentioned in the Maira Inscription).[2] Maues-Moga was a paramount sovereign (Maharaya). His dominions included Taxila which was ruled by a Satrapal family.

The dates assigned to Maues by various scholars range from B.C. 135 to A. D. 154. His coins are found ordinarily in the Pañjāb, and chiefly in the western portion of the province of which Taxila was the ancient capital. There can thus be no doubt that Maues was the king of Gandhāra. Now it is impossible to find for Maues a place in the history of the Pañjāb before the Greek king Antialkidas who was reigning at Taxila when king Bhāgabhadra was on the throne of Vidiśā for fourteen years. The date of Bhāgabhadra is uncertain but he must be placed later than Agnimitra Śuṅga who ruled from B. C. 149-141. The fourteenth year of Bhāgabhadra, therefore, could not have fallen before 127 B.C. Consequently Antialkidas must have been ruling in the second half of the second century B.C., and his reign could not have ended before 127 B.C. The Śaka occupation of Gandhāra must, therefore, be later than 127 B.C. All scholars except Fleet identify Maues with Maharaya Moga of the so-called Sirsukh or Taxila plate, dated in the year 78 of an unspecified era. The generally accepted view is that the era is of Śaka institution. As the era is used only in N. India and the border land it is permissible to conjecture that it came into existence after the Śaka occupation of those regions. We have already seen that this occupation could not have taken place before 127 B.C. The era used in the Taxila plate could not, therefore, have originated before 127 B.C. The year 78 of the era could

[1] Or Namijada, Shahdaur Ins. Corpus, II. i. 14, 16.

[2] At Maira in the Salt Range, a Kharoshṭhī Inscription has been found in a well which seems to be dated in the year 58 and possibly contains the word Moasa.

not have fallen before B.C. (127 − 78 =) 49. Consequently the rule of Maues-Moga cannot have ended before B.C. 49. He must be placed even later, because we learn from the Chinese records that Yin-mo-fu was in possession of Kipin or Kāpiśa-Gandhāra about 48-33 B.C. and he was preceded by Wu-tou-lao and his son. Maues-Moga, therefore, will have to be placed after 33 B.C. He cannot perhaps be placed later than the middle of the first century A.D., because we learn from Apollonios and the author of the Periplus that about that time or a little later both Taxila and Minnagara, the metropolis of Scythia or the Śaka kingdom in the Indus valley, had passed into the hands of the Parthians. It seems, therefore, that Maues-Moga ruled after 33 B.C., but before the closing years of the first century A.D. According to Fleet Moga flourished in the year 22 A.D.—the year 78 of the era commencing 58 B.C., which afterwards came to be known as the Kṛita-Mālava-Vikrama era. But the matter must be regarded as not finally settled. The Khalatse Inscription of the year 187(?) of Uvima (Wema Kadphises?) and the Taxila silver vase inscription of the year 191 of Jihonika suggest that the era to which the dates of these inscriptions, and presumably that of the so-called Sirsukh (Taxila) plate of Moga, is to be referred, began much earlier than B.C. 58.

Numismatists say that Maues was succeeded on the throne of the Western Pañjāb by **Azes** who put an end to Greek rule in the Eastern Pañjāb by annexing the kingdom of Hippostratos. The coins of Azes are very closely related to the issues of the Vonones family, and the assumption has always been made that Azes, the king of the Pañjāb, is identical with Azes, the colleague of Spalirises. Some scholars think that there were two kings of the name of Azes and that the first Azes was the immediate successor, not of Maues, but of Spalirises, and that Maues came not only after Azes I, but also after Azes II. But the last

part of the theory cannot be accepted in view of the synchronism of Gondophernes and Azes II proved by the fact that Aspavarma served as Strategos under both the monarchs.[1] As Gondophernes ruled in the year 103,[2] while Maues-Moga ruled in the year 78,[3] and as both these dates are usually referred by scholars to the same era, both Gondophernes and his contemporary Azes II must be later than Maues-Moga. There is no room for Maues-Moga between Azes I and Azes II, because we shall see presently that the succession from Azes I to Azes II is clearly established by numismatic evidence. Maues came either before Azes I or after Azes II; but we have already seen that he could not have reigned after Azes II. He must, therefore, be placed before Azes I. He must have been ruling in the Paũjāb when Vonones was ruling in Sîstān. When Vonones was succeeded by Spalirises, Maues was succeeded by Azes I. We have already seen that Spalirises and Azes I issued joint coins.[4] The relationship between the two monarchs is not known. They may have been related by blood, or they may have been mere allies like Hermaios and Kujūla Kadphises.[5]

King Azes I struck some coins bearing his own name in Greek on the obverse, and that of **Azilises** in Kharoshṭhî on the reverse. Then again we have another type of coins on which the name in Greek is Azilises, and in Kharoshṭhî is Aya (Azes). Dr. Bhandarkar and Smith postulate that these two joint types, when considered together, prove that Azilises, before his accession to independent power, was the

1 Whitehead, Catalogue of Coins in the Paũjāb Museum, p. 150.

2 *Cf.* the Takht-i-Bāhī Inscription.

3 *Cf.* the Taxila Plate of Patika.

4 Rapson on pp. 573-574 of CHI identifies Azes, the colleague of Spalirises, with Azes II, and makes him the son of Spalirises. On page 572, however, the suggestion is found that Azes II was the son and successor of Azilises. It is difficult to see how the two views can be reconciled. For an ins. of Azes see Corpus, II. i. 17.

5 *Cf.* Whitehead, p. 178; Marshall, Taxila, p. 16.

subordinate colleague of an Azes, and that an Azes similarly was subsequently the subordinate colleague of Azilises. The two princes named Azes cannot, therefore, be identical, and they must be distinguished as Azes I and Azes II. Whitehead, however, observes that the silver coins of Azilises are better executed and earlier in style than those of Azes. The best didrachms of Azes compare unfavourably with the fine silver coins of Azilises with Zeus obverse and Dioskouri reverse, and with other rare silver types of Azilises. If Azilises preceded Azes, then following Dr. Smith we must have Azilises I and Azilises II, instead of Azes I and Azes II. In conclusion Whitehead says that the differences in type and style between the abundant issues of Azes can be adequately explained by reasons of locality alone, operating through a long reign.[1] Marshall, however, says that the stratification of coins at Taxila clearly proves the correctness of Smith's theory, according to which Azes I was succeeded by Azilises, and Azilises by Azes II.[2]

Recent discoveries have unearthed the gold coin of a king named **Aṭhama**. Whitehead has no hesitation in recognising him as a member of the dynasty of Azes and Azilises. His date is, however, uncertain.

Unlike the Indo-Greek princes,[3] the Saka kings style themselves on their coins Basileus Basileon, corresponding to the Prākrit on the reverse, Mahārājasa Rājarājasa. They also appropriate the epithet Mahatasa, corresponding to the Greek Megaloy, which we find on the coins of Greek kings. The title Rājarāja—king of kings—was not an empty boast. Moga had under him the Viceroys Liaka and Paṭika

[1] G. Hoffmann and Sten Konow not only reject the duplication of Azes, but suggest the identification of Azes with Azilises.

[2] The coins which Smith assigns to Azes II are found *generally* nearer the surface than those of Azes I (JRAS., 1914, 979). For Konow's view, see Ep. Ind., 1926, 274 and Corpus, II. i. xxxix-xl.

[3] With the exception perhaps of Eukratides one of whose coins bears the legend *Maharajasa rajatirajasa* Evukratidasa (Corpus, II. i. xxix n.).

of Taxila. Azes had under him at least one subordinate ruler, *e.g.*, the Strategos Aspavarma. The title Satrap or Kshatrapa occurs in the Behistun Inscription in the form Kshatrapāvan which means 'protector of the kingdom' (*cf.* Goptri). The word "Strategos" means a general. It is obvious that the Scythians revived in North-Western India the system of government by Satraps and military governors. Coins and Inscriptions prove the existence of several other Satrapal families besides those mentioned above.

The **North Indian Kshatrapas** or Satraps may be divided into three main groups, *viz.* :—

1. The Satraps of Kāpiśi and Abhisāraprastha.
2. The Satraps of the Western Pañjāb.
3. The Satraps of Mathurā.

Satrap of Kāpiśi, who was the son of the Satrap Mānikiālā inscription affords the bare mention of a Gramavhryaka.[1] The name of Sivasena, 'the Kshatrapa in the town of Abhisāraprastha' occurs in the legend of a copper seal ring found in the Pañjāb.[2]

The Pañjāb Satraps belonged to three families, *viz.*—

(*a*) The **Kusulua** or **Kusuluka Group**.—It consisted of Liaka and his son Patika, of Chhahāra (ta family ?) and Chukhsha.[3] According to Fleet there were two Patikas.[4] But according to Marshall there was only one Viceroy of the name of Patika.[5] The Satrapal line of Kusuluka was intimately connected with the Satraps of Mathurā.[6]

[1] Rapson, Andhra Coins, etc; Ancient India, 141; JASB., 1924, 14. Corpus, II, i, 130-1.

[2] Corpus, II. i. 103.

[3] Bühler, Ep. Ind., IV, p. 54; Konow, Corpus II. i. 25-28. Chukhsa, according to Stein, is the present Chach in the north of the District of Attock.

[4] JRAS., 1907, p. 1035. The existence of two Liakas is, however, proved by the Taxila plate and the Zeda inscription (Corpus II. i. 145).

[5] JRAS., 1914, pp. 979 ff.

[6] *Cf.* Inscription G on the Mathurā Lion Capital.

The coins of Liaka Kusuluka show the transition of the district to which they belonged, *i.e.*, the Taxila region, from the rule of the Greek house of Eukratides to the Śakas.[1] We know from the Taxila or the so-called Sirsukh plate, dated in the year 78, that Liaka was a Satrap of the great king Moga and that Patika was a jaüva (yavuga ?).

(*b*) **Manigul or Managula** and his son **Zeionises** or **Jihonika.**—They were considered to be Satraps of Pushkalāvatî during the reign of Azes II. But the Taxila silver vase Inscription of the year 191 discovered by Marshall in 1927[2] shows that Jihonika was Kshatrapa in Cukhsha and not Pushkarāvatî in the year 191.

(*c*) **The House of Indravarma.**—It consisted of Indravarman, his son Aspavarman, and Aspa's nephew Sasa. Aspavarman acted as governor of both Azes II and Gondophernes, while Sasa served under Gondophernes and Pakores.

The Satraps of Mathurā.

The earliest of this line of princes probably were the associated rulers Hagāna and Hagāmasha. They were perhaps succeeded by Rañjubula. The genealogical table of the house of Rañjubula as arranged by Sten Konow[3] is given below in a footnote.

[1] Rapson's Ancient India, p. 154.
[2] JRAS., 1928, January, 137 f. Corpus, II. i. 81f.
[3] Corpus, II. i. 47 :

Rañjubula, Rājūvula or Rajula is known from inscriptions as well as coins. An inscription in Brāhmî characters at Mora near Mathurā calls him a Mahākshatrapa. But the Greek legend on some of his coins describes him as "king of kings, the Saviour" showing that he probably declared his independence.

Rañjubula was probably succeeded by his son Śuḍasa or Śoḍāsa. Inscription B on the Mathurā Lion Capital mentions him as a Kshatrava (Satrap) and as the son of Mahākshatrava Rajula (Rañjubula). But later inscriptions at Mathurā written in Brāhmî characters call him a Mahākshatrapa. One of these inscriptions gives a date for him in the year 72 of an unspecified era. It is clear that during his father's lifetime he was only a Satrap. But on his father's death sometime before the year 72, he became a Great Satrap. Sten Konow adduces grounds for believing that Śoḍāsa dated his inscription in the so-called Vikrama era.[1] Consequently the year 72, in his opinion, possibly corresponds to A.D. 15.

Dr. Majumdar refers the dates of the Northern Satraps (of Taxila and Mathurā) to the Śaka era, and places them in the middle of the second century A.D. But Ptolemy, who flourished about that time, places neither Taxila nor Mathurā within Indo-Scythia, *i.e.*, the Śaka dominion. This shows that neither Taxila nor Mâthurā was a Śaka possession in the second century A.D. The principal Indo-Scythian possessions in Ptolemy's time were Patalene (the Indus Delta), Abiria (the Ābhira country), and Syrastrene (Kathiāwār).[2] This is exactly what we find in the Junāgaḍh inscription of the Śaka ruler Rudradāman, who flourished in the middle of the second century A.D. In Ptolemy's time Taxila was included within the Arsa

1 Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pp 139-141

2 Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 354.

(Sans. Uraśā) territory,[1] and Mathurā belonged to the Kaspeiraioi.[2] Dr. Majumdar suggests that Ptolemy probably noticed the Śaka empire of Maues and his successors (which included Taxila, Mathurā and Ujjayinî) under the name of Kaspeiraioi.[3] But we should remember that far from including Taxila, Mathurā and Western India within one empire, Ptolemy sharply distinguishes the Kaspeiraioi from Indo-Scythia which was the real Śaka domain in the middle of the second century A.D.[4] Moreover, the territory of the Kaspeiraioi must have included Kaśmîra (the land of Kaśyapa[5]); and there is no evidence that the dynasty of Maues ever ruled in Kaśmîra. It was only under the kings of Kanishka's dynasty that Kaśmîra and Mathurā formed parts of one and the same empire. The Kaspeiraioi of Ptolemy evidently referred to the Kushān empire.

We learn from the Mathurā Lion Capital that when Suḍasa, *i.e.*, Śoḍāsa was ruling as a mere Kshatrapa, Kusuluka Patika was a Mahākshatrapa. As Śoḍāsa was a Mahākshatrapa in the year 72, he must have been a Kshatrapa before 72. Consequently Patika must have been reigning as a Mahākshatrapa contemporary of the Kshatrapa Śoḍāsa before the year 72. The Taxila plate of the year 78, however, does not style Patika as a Kshatrapa or Mahākshatrapa and gives the Satrapal title to his father Liaka.[6] Dr. Fleet thinks[7] that we have to do with two different Patikas. But Marshall and

[1] Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 348.

[2] Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 350.

[3] Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 98 n.

[4] *Cf.* Ptolemy, Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 354, and the Junāgaḍh inscription of the Śaka ruler Rudradāman.

[5] Rājataraṅgiṇî, I, 27. IA. IV. 227.

[6] Sten Konow, Corpus, I. i, Vol. II, pt. i, 28.

[7] JRAS., 1913, 1001 n.

Sten Konow think that Patika, who issued the Taxila plate, is identical with the Mahākshatrapa Patika of the Mathurā Lion Capital, therefore the era in which the inscription of Sam 72 is dated, is not the same as in the Taxila plate of Sam 78. In other words while Fleet duplicates kings, Marshall and Sten Konow duplicate eras. It is difficult to come to any final decision from the scanty data at our disposal. Fleet's theory is not improbable in view of the fact that we have evidence regarding the existence of at least two Liakas. But the duplication of kings is not absolutely necessary as the designation 'jaüva' given to Patika in the Taxila plate does not preclude the possibility of his having been a Mahākshatrapa as well a few years back. We should remember in this connection that there are instances among the Western Kshatrapas of Chashṭana's line, of Mahākshatrapas being reduced to a humbler rank [1] while other members of the family held the higher office,[2] and of a Kshatrapa (Jayadāman) being mentioned without the satrapal title.[3] It is, therefore, not altogether improbable that the inscription of Sam 72 and that of Sam 78 are dated in the same era, and yet the two Patikas are identical.[4] In the Jānibighā inscription king Lakshmaṇa Sena has no royal title prefixed to his name. If Sir John Marshall is right in reading the name of Aya (Azes) in the Taxila Inscription of 136, we have an additional instance of a ruler being mentioned without any title indicative of his rank.

Kharaosta was according to Konow the father-in-law, and, according to Fleet, a grandson (daughter's son), of

1 *Cf.* Majumdar, the Date of Kauishka, Ind. Ant., 1917.

2 Rapson, *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc., cxxiv f. 3 Andhau Inscriptions.

4 The Rājatarañgiṇī furnishes an instance of a son being replaced by his father as king (*cf.* the case of Pārtha), and of a king abdicating in favour of his son and again resuming control over the kingdom. *Cf.* the case of Kalasa who continued to be a co-ruler after the resumption of control by his father, and that of Rājā Mānsingh of Jodhpur (1804-43).

Rañjubula and consequently a nephew of Śoḍāsa.[1] The inscriptions A and Ē on the Mathurā Lion Capital mention him as the Yuvaraya Kharaosta. Konow thinks[2] that he was the inheritor to the position as "king of kings" after Moga. His coins are of one class only, presenting legends in Greek characters on the obverse and in Kharoshṭhî on the reverse. The Kharoshṭhî legend runs thus: Kshatrapasa pra Kharaostasa Arṭasa putrasa." 'Pra,' according to Konow, may be a reflex of Prachakshasa.[3]

The coins of the family of Rañjubula are imitated from those of the Stratos and also of a line of Hindu princes who ruled at Mathurā. This shows that in the Jumna valley Scythian rule superseded that of both Greek and Hindu princes.

A fragmentary inscription found by Vogel on the site of Gaṇeshrā near Mathurā revealed the name of a Satrap of the Kshaharāta family called Ghaṭāka.[4]

The Nationality of the Northern Satraps.

Cunningham held that the inscription P on the Mathurā Lion Capital—Sarvasa Sakastanasa puyae—gave decisive proof that Rañjubula or Rājūvula, Śoḍāsa and other connected Satraps were of Śaka nationality. Dr. Thomas shows, however, that the Satraps of Northern India were the representatives of a mixed Parthian and Śaka domination. This is strongly supported *a priori* by the fact that Patika of Taxila, who bears himself a Persian name, mentions as his overlord the great king Moga whose name is Śaka. The inscriptions of the Lion Capital exhibit a mixture of Persian and Śaka nomenclature.[5] Attention

[1] JRAS., 1913, 919, 1009.
[2] Corpus, 36.
[3] Corpus, xxxv.
[4] JRAS., 1912, p. 121.
[5] Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 138 ff. For Konow's views, see Corpus, II. i. xxxvii.

may, however, be called here to the fact that in the Harivaṁśa there is a passage (I. 14, 17) which characterises the Pahlavas or Parthians as "śmaśrudhārinaḥ." Judged by this test, kings of the family of Rañjubula and Nahapāna, who are not unoften taken to be Parthians, could not have belonged to that nationality as their portraits found on coins [1] show no traces of beards and whiskers. They were, therefore, almost certainly Śakas.

[1] JRAS., 1913, bet. pp. 630-631.

II. The Pahlavas or Parthians.

Already in the time of Eukratides, Mithradates I, King of Parthia, had conquered portions of the Pañjāb, and in the days of the Śaka Emperors of the family of Maues-Moga, princes of mixed Śaka-Pahlava origin ruled as Satraps in Northern India. Towards the middle of the first century A.D., Śaka sovereignty in parts of Gandhāra was probably supplanted by that of the Pahlavas or Parthians. In the year 44 A. D., when Apollonios of Tyana is reputed to have visited Taxila, the throne was occupied by a Parthian named Phraotes who was independent of Vardanes, the king of Babylon, and himself powerful enough to exercise suzerain power over the Satrapy of Gandhāra. Christian writers refer to a king of India named Gundaphar and his brother Gad who were converted by the Apostle St. Thomas and who, therefore, lived in the first century A. D.[1] We have no independent confirmation of the story of Apollonios. But the "so-called" Takht-i-Bāhī record of the year 103 (of an unspecified era) shows that there was actually in the Peshāwar district a king named Guduvhara (Gondophernes). The names of Gondophernes and of his brother Gad are, in the opinion of some scholars, also found on coins.[2] According to Rapson the two brothers were associated as sub-kings under the suzerainty of Orthagnes (Verethragna). Sten Konow, however, identifies Orthagnes with Guduvhara.[3] Dr. Fleet referred the date of the Takht-i-Bahai (Bāhī) inscription to the Mālava-Vikrama era, and so placed the record in A. D.

[1] The original Syriac text of the legend of St. Thomas belongs probably to the third century (JRAS., 1913, 634)). *Cf.* Ind. Ant., 3. 309.

[2] Whitehead, p. 155. Gondophernes = Vindapharna (Whitehead, p. 146, and Rapson). Konow, following Fleet, takes the word Guḍana on the coins to refer to the tribe of Gondophernes (Corpus, II. i. xlvi).

[3] Corpus, xlvi.

47.[1] He remarked "there should be no hesitation about referring the year 103 to the established Vikrama era of B. C. 58; instead of having recourse, as in other cases too, to some otherwise unknown era beginning at about the same time. This places Gondophernes in A. D. 47 which suits exactly the Christian tradition which makes him a contemporary of St. Thomas the Apostle."

The power of **Gondophernes** did not probably in the beginning extend to the Gandhāra region. His rule seems to have been restricted at first to southern Afghanistān.[2] He suceeeded, however, in annexing the Peshāwar district before the twenty-sixth year of his reign. There is no epigraphic evidence that he conquered Eastern Gandhāra (Taxila) though he certainly wrested some provinces from the Azes family. The story of the supersession of the rule of Azes II by him in one of the Scythian provinces is told by the coins of Aspavarma. The latter at first acknowledged the suzerainty of Azes (II) but later on obeyed Gondophernes as his overlord. Evidence of the ousting of Śaka rule by the Parthians in the Lower Indus valley is furnished by the author of the Periplus in whose time (about 60 or 80 A. D.), Minnagara, the metropolis of Scythia, *i.e.*, the Śaka kingdom in the Lower Indus valley, was subject to Parthian princes who were constantly driving each other out. If Sir John Marshall is right in reading the name of Aya or Azes in the Taxila Inscription of 136, then it is clear that Śaka rule survived in a part of Eastern Gandhāra,[3] while Peshāwar

[1] JRAS., 1905, pp. 223-235; 1906, pp. 706-710; 1907, pp. 169-172; 1013-1040; 1913, pp. 999-1003. *Cf.* the views of Cunningham and Dowson (IA, 4, 307). The discovery of the Khalatse and the Taxila silver vase inscriptions, however makes the theory of Fleet probably untenable. Mr. Jayaswal is inclined to place Gondophernes in [illegible] B.C. But this date is too early to suit the Christian tradition.

[2] JRAS., 1913, 1003, 1010.

[3] For the correct interpretation of "Sa 136 ayasa ashaḍasa masasa, etc.," see *Calcutta Review*, 1922, December, 493-494. According to Konow *ayasa* stands for *ādyasya* (=the first). He takes the word as qualifying *ashaḍasa*.

and the Lower Indus valley passed into the hands of the Parthians.

The Greek principality in the upper Kābul valley was extinguished about this time.[1] We learn from Justin that the Parthians gave the *coup de grace* to the rule of the Bactrian Greeks. This is quite in accordance with the evidence of Archæology. Marshall says that Gondophernes annexed the Kābul valley, overthrew the Greek principality in that region, and drove out the last prince Hermaios.

With Gondophernes were associated as subordinate rulers his nephew Abdagases, his generals Aspavarman and Sasa(n), and his governors Sapedanes and Satavastra.

After the death of the great Parthian monarch his empire split up into smaller principalities. One of these (probably Seistan) was ruled by **Sanabares**, another (probably Kandahār and the W. Pañjāb) by **Pakores** and others by princes whose coins Marshall recovered for the first time at Taxila. Among them was Sasa who acknowledged the nominal sway of Pakores. The internecine strife among these Parthian princelings is probably alluded to by the author of the Periplus in the following passage :—

"Before it (Barbaricum) there lies a small island, and inland behind it is the metropolis of Scythia, Minnagara; it is subject to Parthian princes who are constantly driving each other out."

Epigraphic evidence proves that the Pahlava or Parthian rule in Afghanistān, the Pañjāb and Sind was supplanted by that of the Gushana or Khushana or **Kushān** dynasty. We know that Gondophernes was ruling in Peshāwār in the year 103 (A. D. 47 according to Fleet, somewhat earlier according to others). But we learn from the Panjtar inscription that in the year 122 the sovereignty of the region had passed to a Gushana or Kushān king. In the year 136

[1] *Cf.* Thomas, JRAS., 1913, 1042.

the Kushān suzerainty had extended to Taxila. An inscription of that year mentions the interment of some relics of Buddha in a chapel at Taxila "for bestowal of perfect health upon the Mahārāja, rājātirāja devaputra Khushaṇa." The Sui Vihār and Mahenjo Daro Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions prove the Kushān conquest of the Lower Indus valley. The Chinese writer Panku, who died in A. D. 92, refers to the Yue-chi occupation of Kao-fou or Kābul. This shows that the race to which the Kushāns belonged took possession of Kābul before A. D. 92. It is, however, asserted that Kao-fou is a mistake for Tou-mi. But the mistake in Kennedy's opinion would not have been possible, had the Yue-chi not been in possession of Kao-fou in the time of Panku.[1] The important thing to remember is that a Chinese writer of 92 A. D., thought Kao-fou to have been a Yue-chi possession long before his time. If Sten Konow is to be believed, the Kushāns had established some sort of connection with the Indian borderland as early as the time of Gondophernes. In line 5 of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription Sten Konow reads "erjhuṇa Kapasa puyae"[2] "in honour of prince Kapa," *i.e.*, Kujula Kadphises, the Kushān king, who succeeded Hermaios in the Kābul valley. Kujūla Kadphises has been identified with the Kouei-chouang (Kushān) prince K'ieou-tsieou-k'io who took possession of Kao-fou, Po-ta and Ki-pin. It appears from numismatic evidence that this Kushān chief was an ally of Hermaios with whom he issued joint coins. The destruction of Hermaios' kingdom by the Parthians probably supplied him with a *casus belli*. He made war on the latter and destroyed their power in North-West India.

[1] JRAS., 1912, p. 676.

[2] Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 294; XVIII (1926), p. 282. Corpus, II. i.

III. The Great Kushāns.

We are informed by the Chinese historians that the Kushāns (Kuei-shuang or Kouei-chouang) were a clan of the Yueh-chi (Yüe-chī) race. The modern Chinese pronunciation of the name according to Kingsmill is said to be Yué-ti. M. Lévi and other French scholars write Yue-tchi or Yué-tchi.

We learn from Ssū-ma-ch'ien who recorded the story of the travels of Chang-K'ien, that in or about B. C. 165 the Yue-chi were dwelling between the Tsenn-hoang (Tun-huang) country and the K'i-lien mountains, or Tien-chan Range in Chinese Turkestan. At that date the Yue-chi were defeated and expelled from their country by the Hiung-nū who slew their king and made a drinking vessel out of his skull. The widow of the slain king succeeded to her husband's power. Under her guidance the Yue-chi in the course of their westward migration attacked the Wu-sun whose king was killed. After this exploit the Yue-chi attacked the Śakas who fled into Kipin (Kāpiśa-Lampāka-Gandhāra).

Meantime the son of the slain Wu-sun king grew up to manhood and drove the Yue-chi further west into the Ta-hia (Dahae?) territory washed by the Oxus. The Ta-hia, who were devoted to commerce, unskilled in war and wanting in cohesion, were easily reduced to a condition of vassalage by the Yue-chi who established their capital or royal encampment to the north of the Oxus, in the territory now belonging to Bukhārā. The Yue-chi capital was still in the same position when visited by Chang-Kien in or about B. C. 125.[1]

The adventures of Chang-Kien as related by Ssū-ma-ch'ien in the Sse-ki or Shi-ki (completed before B. C. 91) were retold in Pan-ku's Ts'ien Han-shu or Annals of the First

[1] JRAS., 1903, pp. 19-20; 1912, p. 668 ff.; PAOS., 1917, pp. 89 ff.; Konow, Corpus, II. i., p. liii.

Han Dynasty (completed by Pan-ku's sister after his death in A. D. 92), with three important additions, namely :—

1. That the kingdom of the Ta-Yue-chi had for its capital the town of Kien-chi (Kien-she), to the north of the Oxus,[1] and Kipin lies on its southern frontier.

2. That the Yue-chi were no longer nomads.

3. That the Yue-chi kingdom had become divided into five principalities, *viz.*, Hieou-mi (Wakhān ?), Chouangmo (Chitral?), Kouei-chouang (the Kushān principality, probably situated between Chitral and the Panjshir country), Hithun (Parwān on the Panjshir) and Kao-fou (Kābul).[2]

We next obtain a glimpse of the Yue-chi in Fan-Ye's Hou Han-shu or Annals of the Later Han Dynasty which cover the period between A.D. 25 and 220. Fan-Ye based his account on the report of Pan-young (*cir.* A. D. 125) and others.[3] He himself died in 445 A. D. The capital of the Yüe-chï was then probably the old Ta-hia city of Lan-Shi in Badakhshān. Fan-Ye gives the following account of the Yue-chi conquest :

"In old days the Yue-chi were vanquished by the Hiung-nū. They then went to Ta-hia and divided the kingdom among five Hi-heou or Yabgous, *viz.*, those of Hieou-mi, Chouang-mi, Kouei-chouang, Hitouen and Tou-mi. More than hundred years after that, the Yabgou (Yavuga) of Kouei-chouang (Kushān) named **K'ieou-tsieou-k'io** attacked and vanquished the four other Yabgous and called himself king (Wang); he invaded Ngan-si (Parthia?) and took

[1] Corpus, II. i. liv.

[2] A later historian regards Kao-fou as a mistake for Tou-mi which, however, was probably not far from Kābul, JRAS., 1912, 669; for the proposed identifications see Corpus, II. i. lvi. *Cf.* JRAS., 1903, 21; 1912, 669.

[3] *Cf.* Konow, Corpus, liv. "It is accordingly the events of the period A.D. 25-125 which are narrated by Fan Ye, though there are some additions referring to a somewhat later time in the case of countries which were near enough to remain in contact with China after the reign of Emperor Ngan" (107-25).

possession of the territory of Kao-fou (Kābul), overcame Po-ta[1] and Ki-pin and became completely master of these kingdoms. K'ieou-tsieou-k'io died at the age of more than eighty. His son Yen-kao-tchen succeeded him as king. In his turn he conquered T'ien-tchou (India), and established there a chief for governing it. From this time the Yue-chi became extremely powerful. All the other countries designate them Kushān after their king, but the Han retained the old name, and called them Ta-Yue-chi."

"Kieou-tsieou-kio" has been identified with Kujūla (*cf.* Kusuluka) Kadphises,[2] or Kozola Kadaphes, the first Kushān king who struck coins to the south of the Hindu-kush. Numismatic evidence shows that he was the colleague or ally, and afterwards the successor, of Hermaios, the last Greek prince of the Kābul valley. The prevalent view that Kadphises conquered Hermaios is, in the opinion of Marshall, wrong. Sten Konow finds his name mentioned in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103 belonging to the reign of Gondophernes. The inscription probably belongs to a period when the Kushān and Parthian rulers were on friendly terms. But the Parthian attack on the kingdom of Hermaios apparently led to a rupture which ended in war. The result was that the Parthians were ousted by Kadphises I.

Marshall identifies Kadphises I with the Kushān king of the Panjtar record (of the year 122) and the Taxila scroll of the year 136.[3] We should, however, remember that in the Taxila inscription of 136 the Kushān king is called Devaputra, a title which was characteristic of the Kanishka group and not of Kadphises I or II. The

[1] Perhaps identical with the country of Po-tai which, in the time of Sung-yun, sent two young lions to the King of Gandhāra as present (Beal, Records of the Western World, Vol. I. ci). Konow (Ep. Ind., XVIII, 278) identifies P'u-ta with Ghazni.

[2] Pahlavi Kad = chief, JRAS., 1913, 632 n.

[3] JRAS., 1914, pp. 977-78.

monogram on the scroll is by no means characteristic only of coins of the Kadphises group, but it is also found, in Marshall's and S. Konow's opinion, on the coins of Zeionises and Kuyula Kara Kaphsa. If, however, Konow and Marshall are right in reading the name of Uvima Kavthisa in the Khalatse inscription of the year 184 or 187, and that of Jihonika in the Taxila inscription of the year 191, the king of the Panjtar and Taxila records of 122 and 136 must be a predecessor of Wema (Vima), and should preferably be identified with Kadphises I.

Kadphises I probably coined no gold. His coinage shows unmistakable influence of Rome.[1] He copied the issues of Augustus or those of Tiberius, and used the titles Yavuga, Mahārāja Rājātirāja and "Sachadhrama ṭhita".[2]

"K'ieou-tsieou-k'io," or Kadphises I, was succeeded by his son **Yen-kao-tchen**, the Hima, Vima, or Wema Kadphises of the coins, who is usually designated as Kadphises II. We have already seen that he conquered Tien-tchou or the Indian interior and set up a chief who governed in the name of the Yue-chi. According to Sten Konow[3] and Smith[4] it was Kadphises II who established the Śaka Era of A. D. 78. If this view be accepted then he was possibly the overlord of Nahapāna(?), and was the Kushân monarch who was defeated by the Chinese and compelled to pay tribute to the emperor Ho-ti (A. D.

[1] In one class of his coins appears a Roman head which was palpably imitated from that of Augustus or Tiberius (JRAS., 1912, 679; 1913, 912; Smith, Catalogue 66). Rome and its people, Romakas, first appear in the Mahābhārata (II. 51. 17) and occur not unfrequently in later literature. Diplomatic relations between Rome and India were established as early as the time of Augustus who received an embassy from king 'Pandion' (Camb. Hist. Ind. 597) about 22 B.C. An Indian embassy was also received by Trajan shortly after 99 A.D. Strabo, Pliny and the Periplus refer to a brisk trade between India and the Roman Empire in the first century A.D. See JRAS., 1904, 591; IA. 5. 281; 1923, 50. Pliny deplores the drain of specie (JRAS., 1912, 986; 1913, 644).

[2] Smith Catalogue 67n; Konow, Corpus, II. i, lxiv f.; Whitehead, 181.

[3] Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 141.

[4] The Oxford History of India, p. 128.

89-105). But there is no direct evidence that Kadphises II established any era. No inscriptions or coins of this monarch contain any dates which are referable to an era of his institution. On the contrary we have evidence that Kanishka did establish an era, that is to say, his method of dating was continued by his successors, and we have dates ranging probably from the year 1 to 99.

The conquests of the Kadphises Kings opened up the path of commerce between China and the Roman Empire and India. Roman gold began to pour into this country in payment for silk, spice and gems. Kadphises II began to issue gold coins. He had a bilingual gold, silver and copper coinage. The obverse design gives us a new lifelike representation of the monarch. The reverse is confined to the worship of Śiva which was gaining ground since the days of the Śiva-Bhāgavatas mentioned by Patañjali.[1] In the Kharoshṭhî inscription Kadphises II is called "the great king, lord of the world, the Mahiśvara, the defender."[2]

We learn from Yu-Houan, the author of the Wei-lio which was composed between A. D. 239-265 and covers the period of the Wei down to the reign of the emperor Ming (227-239),[3] that the Yue-chi power was flourishing in Kipin (Kāpiśa-Gandhāra), Ta-hia (Oxus valley), Kao-fou (Kābul) and Tien-Tchou (India) as late as the third century A. D. But the early Chinese annalists are silent about the names of the successors of Yen-kao-tchen (Kadphises II). Chinese sources, however, refer to a king of the Ta-Yüe-chi named Po-tiao or Puâ-d'ieu (Vāsudeva?) who sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor in the year 230.[4]

[1] V. 2, 76; *cf.* Pāṇini, IV, 1, 112.

[2] Sten Konow finds the name of Vima (Uvima) Kavthisa (Kadphises) in the Khalatse (Ladakh) inscription of the year 187 (?). Corpus, II. i. 81.

[3] Corpus, II. i. lv.

[4] Corpus, II. i. lxxvii.

Inscriptions discovered in India have preserved the names with dates of the following great Kushān sovereigns besides the Kadphises group, *viz.*, **Kanishka** I (1-23),[1] Vāsishka (24-28), Huvishka (31-60), Kanishka II, son of Vājheshka (41), and Vāsudeva (74-98). Huvishka, Vā-jheshka and Kanishka II are probably referred to by Kalhaṇa as Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka who apparently ruled conjointly. It will be seen that Kanishka II ruled in the year 41, a date which falls within the reign of Huvishka (31-60). Thus the account of Kalhaṇa is confirmed by epigraphic evidence.

In the chronological order generally accepted by numismatists, the Kanishka group succeeded the Kadphises group. But this view is not accepted by many scholars. Moreover, there is little agreement among scholars who place the Kanishka group after the Kadphises kings. The more important theories of Kanishka's date are given below :

1. According to Dr. Fleet, Kanishka reigned before the Kadphises group, and was the founder of that reckoning commencing B. C. 58, which afterwards came to be known as the Vikrama Samvat.[2] This view (held at one time by Cunningham and Dowson, and maintained by Franke) was accepted by Kennedy, but was ably controverted by Dr. Thomas, and can no longer

[1] See JRAS., 1913, 980; 1924, p. 400, "Three Mathurā Inscriptions and their bearing on the Kushān Dynasty" by Dayārām Sahni; and IHQ., Vol. III (1927), p. 853, "Further Kanishka Notes" by Sten Konow.

[2] For discussions about the origin of the so-called Vikrama era see JRAS., 1913, pp. 637, 994ff.; Bhand. Com. Vol., pp. 187 ff.; CHI., pp. 168, 533, 571; ZDMG., 1922, pp. 250 ff. The Śātavāhanas could not have founded this or any other era because they always used regnal years, and Indian literature distinguishes between Vikrama and Śālivāhana. As to the claims of Azes, see *Calcutta Review*, 1922, December, pp. 493-494. Regarding Vikrama see Bhand. Com. Vol. cited above. The Purāṇas while mentioning Gardabhilla are silent about Vikramāditya. Jaina tradition places Vikramāditya after 'Nahavāhana' or Nahapāna.

be upheld after the discoveries of Marshall.[1] Inscriptions, coins as well as the testimony of Hiuen Tsang clearly prove that Kanishka's dominions included Gandhāra, but we have already seen that according to Chinese evidence Yin-mo-fu, and not the Kushāns, ruled Kipin (Kāpiśa-Gandhāra) in the second half of the first century B.C.

2. According to Marshall, Sten Konow, Smith and several other scholars Kanishka's rule began about 125[2] A.D., and ended in the second half of the second century A.D.[3] Now, we learn from the Sui Vihār inscription that Kanishka's dominions included the lower Indus Valley. Again we learn from the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman, that the Mahākshatrapa's conquests extended to Sindhu and Sauvîra (which included Multān according to Alberuni). Rudradāman certainly lived from A.D. 130 to A.D. 150. He did not owe his position as Mahākshatrapa to anybody else (svayam adhigata Mahākshatrapa nāma). If Kanishka flourished in the middle of the second century A.D., how are we to reconcile his mastery over the Lower Indus Valley with the contemporary sovereignty of Rudradāman ?[4] Again Kanishka's dates 1-23, Vāsishka's dates 24-28, Huvishka's dates 31-60, and Vāsudeva's dates 74-98, suggest a continuous reckoning. In other words, Kanishka was the originator of an era.

[1] Thomas, JRAS., 1913; Marshall, JRAS., 1914.

[2] The argument that India was still in A.D 125 governed by a Viceroy (and therefore not by Kanishka or Huvishka) is effectively disposed of by Thomas in JRAS., 1913, 1024.

[3] Dr. Sten Konow's views are difficult to ascertain. In the *Indian Studies in honour of C. R. Lanman* (Harvard University Press), p. 65, he mentions A.D. 131 as the initial point of the Kanishka reckoning which he and Dr. Van Wijk "have tried to establish" (*cf.* Acta Orientalia, III, 54 ff.). But in IHQ., III (1927), p. 851, he, along with Dr. Van Wijk, shows a predilection for A.D. 128-9 (*cf.* Acta Orientalia, V, 168 ff.). Professor Rapson (in JRAS., 1930, 186 ff.) points out the conjectural and inconclusive character of the two doctors' calculations. "The year 79," says he, "seems to be out of the running, and a dark horse, year 128-9 is the favourite."

[4] See IHQ., March, 1930, 149.

But we know of no era, current in North-West India, which commenced in the second century A.D.

3. Dr. Majumdar thinks that the era founded by Kanishka was the Traikuṭaka-Kalachuri-Chedi era of 248-49 A.D.[1] Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil points out that this is not possible.[2] "In fact, the reign of Vāsudeva, the last of the Kushāns, came to an end 100 years after the beginning of the reign of Kanishka. Numerous inscriptions prove that Vāsudeva reigned at Mathurā. It is certain that this country, over which extended the empire of Vāsudeva, was occupied about 350 A.D. by the Yaudheyas and the Nāgas and it is probable that they reigned in this place nearly one century before they were subjugated by Samudragupta. The capitals of the Nāgas were Mathurā, Kāntipura and Padmāvatī." The theory of Dr. Majumdar cannot, moreover, be reconciled with the Tibetan tradition which makes Kanishka a contemporary of king Vijayakīrti of Khotan,[3] and the Indian tradition which makes Huvishka a contemporary of Nāgārjuna, and hence of a king of the Śātavāhana line of South Kosala,[4] *i.e.*, the upper Deccan, which became extinguished in the first half of the third century A.D. Lastly, the catalogues of the Chinese Tripiṭaka state that An-Shih-Kao (148-170 A.D.) translated the Mārgabhūmi Sūtra of Saṅgharaksha who was the chaplain of Kanishka.[5] This shows conclusively that Kanishka flourished long before 170 A.D.[6] The arguments against the theory of Dr. Majumdar are equally

1 For this era see JRAS., 1905, pp. 566-68.

2 Ancient History of the Deccan, p. 31.

3 Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 142.

4 Rājataraṅginī, I, 173; Harsha-charita (Cowell), p. 252; Watters, Yuan-Chwang, II, p. 200.

5 Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, p. 64n.

6 According to the theory of Dr. Majumdar Vāsudeva I ruled from (249 + 74) 323 to (249 + 98) 347 A.D. But Chinese evidence places a Po-tiao (Vāsudeva?) in 230 A.D. The Khalatse Ins. also presents difficulties.

applicable to the surmise of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar who places Kanishka's accession in A.D. 278.

4. According to Fergusson, Oldenberg, Thomas, Banerji, Rapson and many other scholars Kanishka was the founder of that reckoning commencing A. D. 78, which came to be known as the Śaka era.[1] This view is not accepted by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil on the following grounds :—

(*a*) If we admit that Kujula-Kadphises and Hermaios reigned about 50 A.D. and that Kanishka founded the Śaka era in 78 A.D., we have scarcely 28 years for the duration of the end of the reigns of Kadphises I and the whole of the reign of Kadphises II.

(But the date, A.D. 50, for Kadphises I is uncertain. Even if we accept it as correct, the period of 28 years is not too short in view of the fact that Kadphises II succeeded an octogenerian. When Kadphises I died "at the age of more than eighty" his son must have been an old man. It is therefore, improbable that "his reign was protracted.")

(*b*) Mr. Marshall, says Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil, has discovered at Taxila in the Chir Stupa a document dated 136, which, in the Vikrama era, corresponds to 79 A.D. and the king mentioned therein is probably Kadphises I, but certainly not Kanishka.

(Now the epithet Devaputra applied to the Kushān king of the Taxila scroll of 136, is characteristic of the Kanishka

[1] For the origin of the Śaka era see Fleet, CII., preface 56 : JRAS., 1913, pp. 635, 650, 987 ff. : Dubreuil, A. H. D., 26 ; Rapson, Āndhra Coins, p. cv ; S. Konow, Corpus, II. i. xvi f. Nahapāna, who was not even a Mahākshatrapa in the years 42-45, and who never became a paramount sovereign, could not have been the founder of the era. The theory which represents Nahapāna as the founder of the era used in his inscriptions (dated 42-46) is also contradicted by a Jaina tradition (relied on by Sten Konow, Corpus, II. i. xxxviii) which assigns to him a period of only 40 years. Chashṭana has no better claims, and the evidence of the Periplus shows that he could not have ruled at Ujjain in 78 A.D.

group, and not of the Kadphises kings.[1] So the discovery, need not shake the conviction of those that attribute to Kanishka the era of 78 A.D. The omission of the personal name of the Kushān monarch does not necessarily imply that the first Kushān is meant. In several inscriptions of the time of Kumāra Gupta and Budha Gupta, the King is referred to simply as Gupta nṛipa).

(c) Prof. Dubreuil says: "Mr. Sten Konow has shown that the Tibetan and Chinese documents tend to prove that Kanishka reigned in the second century." (This Kanishka may have been Kanishka of the Ārā Inscription of the year 41 which, if referred to the Śaka era, would give a date in the second century A.D. Po-t'iao of Sten Konow[2] (the king of the Yue-chi who sent an ambassador to China in A.D.230) may have been one of the successors of Vāsudeva I: "coins bearing the name of Vāsudeva continued to be struck long after he had passed away."[3] Dr. Smith and Mr. R. D. Banerji clearly recognise the existence of more than one Vāsudeva.[4]

(d) Mr. Sten Konow has shown that the inscriptions of the Kanishka era and those of the Śaka era are not dated in the same fashion. [But the same scholar also shows that all the inscriptions of the Kanishka era are also not dated in the same fashion. In the Kharoshthī inscriptions, Kanishka and his successors recorded the dates in the same way as their Śaka-Pahlava predecessors, giving the name of the month and the day within the month. On the other hand, in their Brāhmī records, Kanishka and his successors adopted the Ancient Indian way of dating.[5] Are

[1] The Kadphises Kings meant here are Kujūla (Kadphises I), and Vima (Wema) and not Kuyula Kara Kaplisa whose identification with Kadphises I is a mere surmise. Even if Kuyula Kara be identical with Kujūla (cf. Corpus, II. i. lxv) and the Kushān King of the Taxila inscription of 136, it may be pointed out that it is by no means certain that the date 136 refers to the Vikrama era.

[2] Vāsudeva? Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 141. Corpus, II. i. lxxvii; cf. Acta ii. 183.

[3] E.H.I., p. 272. [4] Ibid., pp. 272-78. [5] Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 141.

CENTRAL LIBRARY

we to conclude from this that the Kharoshṭhî dates of Kanishka's inscriptions, are not to be referred to the same era to which the dates of the Brāhmî records are to be ascribed? If Kanishka adopted two different ways of dating, we fail to understand why he could not have adopted a third method to suit the local conditions in western India. Sten Konow himself points out that in the Śaka dates we have the name of the month as in the Kharoshṭhî records, with the addition of the Paksha. "The Śaka era which (the western Kshatrapas) used was a direct imitation of the reckoning used by their cousins in the north-west, the additional mentioning of the "paksha" being perhaps a concession to the custom in the part of the country where they ruled." It is not improbable that just as Kanishka in the borderland used the old Śaka-Pahlava method, and in Hindusthān Proper used the ancient Indian way of dating prevalent there, so in western India his officers added the "paksha" to suit the custom in that part of the country.][1]

According to Sten Konow Kanishka came from Khotan[2] and belonged to the Little Yüe-chi. The theory presents [illegible] difficulties.[3] It is certain that his successors in 230 and [illegible] The [illegible] ily name Buddhist [illegible] [illegible]aṇḍitīkā was Kiu-sha [illegible] Buddh[illegible] [illegible] Greek, [illegible] [illegible]nquest of upper India [illegible] The court [illegible] K[illegible] [illegible]xtended from Gandhāra [illegible]va, [illegible]mitra, Asvagh[illegible] [illegible]s of his conflict with the [illegible] [illegible]aliputra in Eastern India [illegible] [illegible]nese writers.[4] Epigraphic

[1] The fa[illegible] of the Kanishka M[illegible]hāvihara [illegible] the Pāla Kings of [illegible]ngal as is appa[illegible] time o Dev[illegible]pāla. [illegible]aniṣ[illegible]ka's C[illegible] [illegible]dorsed by S. Konow, Corpus, LXXXVII, that

[2] [illegible] is s[illegible] t[illegible]n to Northern India attention may be invited to [illegible] S[illegible] List of In[illegible] pp. [illegible]ern India, Nos. 351, 352, 362, 364-366, 368, 379, etc. [illegible]ner n[illegible]pus, II. i. [illegible]

[illegible] *Ibid*, p. xxvii.

[illegible] Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 142; Ind. Ant., 1903, p. 382; Corpus, II, i/pp. lxxii and lxxv.

records give us contemporary notices of him, with dates, not only from Peshāwar and possibly from Zeda (near Uṇḍ) in the Yuzufzai country, but also from Māṇikiāla near Rāwalpindi, from Sui Vihār about 16 miles south-west of Bahāwalpur (north of Sind), from Mathurā and Śrāvastî, and from Sārnāth near Benares. His coins are found in considerable quantities as far eastwards as Ghāzipur and Gōrakhpur. The eastern portion of his empire was apparently governed by the Mahā-Kshatrapa Kharapallāna and the Kshatrapa Vanashpara. In the northern portion we find the general Lala and the Satraps Vespasi and Liaka. He fixed his own residence at Peshāwar (Purushapura) and possibly established Kanishkapura in Kaśmîra. It is, however, probable that Kanishkapura was established by his namesake of the Ārā inscription. After making himself master of the south (*i.e.*, India) Kanishka turned to the west and defeated the King of the Parthians.[1] In his old age he led an army against the north and died in an attempt to cross the Tsungling mountains between Gandhāra and Khotan. The Northern expedition is apparently referred to by Hiuen-Tsang who speaks of his rule in the territory to the east of the Tsung-ling mountains and of a Chinese Prince detained [illegible]

It is not improb[able] king repulsed by gen[eral] Emperor Ho-ti. It [is] Kanishka "must have [been] and if the Chinese had c[onquered] him, their historians v[ould] if we identify Pan-ch'a[o] Kadphises II, the silence o[f] mysterious and inexplicable be[cause] known to the annalists. On the other [hand] Kanishk[a]

[1] Ind. Ant., 1903, p. 382.

not known to them, and the non-mention of his name, if he were Pan-ch'ao's contemporary, cannot be more surprising than that of his predecessor, Wema. In favour of Kanishka's identity with Pan-ch'ao's antagonist we may urge that Kanishka is known to have come into conflict with the Chinese, but the same cannot be said with regard to Wema, the events of whose reign, as recorded by Chinese annalists, do not include a first class war with China. The legend of Kanishka's death published by S. Lévi contains a significant passage which runs thus :—"I have subjugated three regions; all men have taken refuge with me, the region of the north alone has not come in to make its submission." Have we not here a covert allusion to his failure in the encounter with his mighty northern neighbour?

Kanishka's fame rests not so much on his conquests, as on his patronage of the religion of Śākyamuni. Numismatic evidence and the testimony of the Peshāwar Casket inscriptions show that he actually became a convert to Buddhism. He showed his zeal for his new faith by building the celebrated relic tower and Sanghārāma at Purushapura or Peshāwar which excited the wonder of Chinese [illegible] Muslim travellers.[1] He convoked the last great Buddhist council which was held in Kaśmîra or Jālandhar.[2] But though a Buddhist, the Kushān monarch continued to honour his old [illegible] Zoroastrian, Elamite(?), Mithraic and Hindu gods. [illegible] of Kanishka was adorned by Pārśva, Vasumitra, [illegible]osha, Charaka, Nāgārjuna (?),

[1] The fame [illegible] remained undiminished till the days of the [illegible] Be[illegible] apparent from the Ghoshravan Inscription of the [illegible] Ka[illegible]haitya is referred to by Alberuni.

[2] The first council [illegible] to have been held in the time of Ajātaśatru of Magadha.

[3] See JRAS., 1912, pp. 1003, 1004. The Elamite (Sumerian ?) goddess Nana gave [illegible]me to the famous Nānaka coins (cf. Bhand., Carm. Lec., 1921, p. 161). For the [illegible]dence of the Mithra (Mihr, Mihira, Miiro) cult on Kushān India, see Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishṇavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 154.

Saṁgharaksha, Māṭhara, Agesilaos the Greek and other worthies who played a leading part in the religious, literary, scientific, philosophical and artistic activities of the reign. Excavations at Māt near Mathurā have disclosed a life-size statue of the great king.[1]

After Kanishka came **Vāsishka**, Huvishka and Kanishka of the Ārā inscription. We have got two inscriptions of Vāsishka, dated 24 and 28 which prove his control over Mathurā and Eastern Mālwa. He may have been identical with Vājheshka, the father of Kanishka of the Ārā inscription, and Jushka of the Rājataraṅginī.

Huvishka's dates range from 31 to 60. A newly discovered Mathurā Inscription[2] represents him as the grandson of a king who has the appellation "Sacha dharma thita," *i.e.*, steadfast in the true Law, which occurs only on the coins of Kadphises I. Kalhaṇa's narrative leaves the impression that Huvishka ruled simultaneously with Jushka and Kanishka, *i.e.*, Vā-jheshka and **Kanishka of the Ārā inscription** of the year 41. The Wardak vase inscription proves the inclusion of Kābul within his dominions. But there is no evidence that he retained his hold on the Lower Indus valley which was probably wrested from the successors of Kanishka I by Rudradāman. In Kaśmīra Huvishka built a town named Hushkapura. Like Kanishka I, he was a patron of Buddhism and built a splendid monastery at Mathurā.[3] He also resembled Kanishka in an eclectic taste for a medley of Greek, Persian and Indian deities. A newly discovered Mathurā inscription refers to the restoration during his reign of a delapidated *Devakula* of his grandfather.

Smith does not admit that the Kanishka of the Ārā inscription of the year 41 was different from the great Kanishka.

1 EHI, p. 272.
2 JRAS., 1924, p. 402.
3 *Cf.* Lüders, List, No. 62.

Lüders, Fleet, Kennedy and Sten Know, however, distinguish between the two Kanishkas.[1] According to Lüders, Kanishka of the Ārā inscription was a son of Vāsishka and probably a grandson of Kanishka I.[2] Kanishka II had the titles Mahārāja, Rājātirāja, Devaputra, and Kaisara(?). It is possible that he, and not Kanishka I, was the founder of the town of Kanishkapura in Kaśmîra.

The last notable king of Kanishka's line was **Vāsudeva I.** His dates range from the year 74 to 98, *i.e.*, A.D. 152 to 176 according to the system of chronology adopted in these pages. He does not appear to have been a Buddhist. His coins exhibit the figure of Śiva attended by Nandi. There can be no doubt that he reverted to Śaivism, the religion professed by his great predecessor Kadphises II. A king named Vāsudeva is mentioned in the Kāvya Mīmāṁsā as a patron of poets and a Sabhāpati. That the Kushān Age was a period of great literary activity is proved by the works of Aśvaghosha, Nāgārjuna and others. It was also a period of religious ferment and missionary activity. It witnessed the development of Śaivism, the Mahāyāna and the cults of Mihira and of Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa and it saw the introduction of Buddhism into China by Kaśyapa Mātaṅga (62 A.D.). "The dynasty of Kanishka opened the way for Indian civilization to Central and Eastern Asia."

The inscriptions of Vāsudeva have been found only in the Mathurā region. From this it is not unreasonable to surmise that he gradually lost his hold over the North-Western portion of the Kushān dominions.

In the third century A.D., we hear of the existence of not less than four kingdoms all 'dependent on the Yue-chi,' and ruled probably by princes of the Yue-chi stock.[3]

[1] *Cf.* Corpus, II. 1. lxxx; 163.
Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 143. JRAS., 1913, 98. See also Corpus, II. i. lxxx.

[2] *Cf.* Kennedy, JRAS., 1913. 1060 f. Among the successors of Vāsudeva may be mentioned Kanishka (III), Vasu (Whitehead, Indo-Greek Coins, pp. 211-12),

These were Ta-hia (the Oxus region), Ki-pin (Kāpiśa), Kao-fou (Kābul) and Tien-tchou (India proper). In 230 the Ta Yue-chi Po-tiao sent an embassy to the Chinese Emperor. The Yue-chi kingdom of Tien-tchou probably disappeared in the fourth century A.D., being conquered by the Nāgas.

Po-tiao (Corpus, II. i. lxxvii) and Grumbates (Smith, EHI., p. 274). The last king of Kanishka's race was Lagatūrmān who was overthrown by his Brāhmaṇa minister Kallar (Alberuni, II, 13). For an alleged invasion of India in the later Kushān period by Ardeshir Bābagān (A.D. 226-41), the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, see Ferishta (Elliot and Dowson, VI, p. 55); *cf.* also the Pehlevi inscription at Persepolis referred to in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, May 24, 1924, which suggests that the Sassanians exercised suzerainty over N. W. India up to the time of Sapur II.

IV. The Nāgas and the Later Kushāns.

The prevalence of Nāga rule over a considerable portion of northern and central India in the third and fourth centuries A.D., is amply attested by epigraphic evidence. A Lahore copper seal inscription of the fourth century A.D. refers to a king named Maheśvara Nāga, the son of Nāgabhaṭṭa.[1] The Allahabad Pillar Inscription refers to King Ganapati Nāga, while several Vākāṭaka records mention **Bhava Nāga**, king of the Bhāraśivas, whose grandson's grandson Rudrasena II was a contemporary of Chandra Gupta II, and who accordingly must have flourished long before the rise of the Gupta Empire. Some idea of the great power of Bhava Nāga's dynasty and the territory over which they ruled may be gathered from the fact that they performed ten Aśvamedha sacrifices and "were besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of (the river) Bhāgirathī that had been obtained by their valour."[2] The performance of ten Aśvamedha sacrifices indicates that they were *not* a feudatory family owning allegiance to the Kushāns. We learn from the Purāṇas that the Nāgas established themselves at Vidiśā, Padmāvatî, Kāntipurî and even Mathurā which was the southern capital of Kanishka and his successors.[3] The greatest of the Nāga Kings was perhaps Chandrāṁśa,[4] 'the second Nakhavant,' whose name reminds us of the great king **Chandra** of the Delhi Iron Pillar inscription. The hand of a Nāga princess was

[1] CII., p. 283.
[2] CII., p. 241; AHD., p. 72.
[3] JRAS., 1905, p. 233.
[4] "Nṛpān Vaidiśakāṁś c=āpi bhaviṣyāṁstu nibodhata.
Seṣasya Nāga-rājasya putraḥ para-purañ jayaḥ.
Bhogī bhaviṣyate rājā nṛpo Nāga-kul-ôdvahaḥ.
Sadāścandras tu Chandrāṁśo dvitīyo Nakhavāṁs tathā."
—Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 49.

sought by Chandra Gupta II in the fifth century, and a Nāga officer governed the Gangetic Doāb as late as the time of Skanda Gupta.[1] The Kushāns, however, continued to rule in the Kābul valley and the Indian borderland. One of them gave his daughter in marriage to Hormisdas II, the Sassanian King of Persia (A.D. 301-309). Sapur II seems to have exercised suzerainty over his Scythic neighbours and "when he besieged Amida in A.D. 350, Indian elephants served under his command."[2] Shortly afterwards the Sassanian supremacy was replaced by that of the Guptas, and the "Daivaputra sāhi sāhānusāhi" sent valuable presents to Samudra Gupta. In the fifth century the **Kidāra Kushāns** established their rule over Gandhāra and Kaśmîra.[3] In the sixth century the Kushāns had to fight hard against the Huns and, in the following centuries, with the Muslims. In the ninth century A.D. a powerful Muslim dynasty, that of the Saffārids, was established in Sīstān (Seistan) and the sway of the family soon extended to Ghazni, Zābulistān, Herat, Balkh and Bamiyan. In the tenth century Alptigin conquered a part of the kingdom of Kābul.[4] The royal residence of the line of Kanishka was now at Uṇḍ, Ohind, Waihand or Udabhāṇḍa, on the Indus. The family was finally extinguished by the Brāhmaṇa Kallār or Lalliya (?) who founded the Hindu Shāhiyya dynasty.

---

[1] For later traces of Nāga rule, see Bom. Gaz., I. 2, pp. 281, 292, 313, 574; Ep. Ind., X, 25.

[2] JRAS., 1913, p. 1062.

[3] JRAS., 1913, p. 1064. Smith, Catalogue, 64, 89.

[4] Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sultan Maḥmūd*, 26, 186.

Scythian Rule in Southern and Western India

I. The Kshaharātas.

We have seen that in the second and first centuries B.C., the Scythians possessed Ki-pin (Kāpiśa-Gandhāra) and afterwards extended their sway over a large part of Northern India. The principal Scythic dynasties continued to rule in the north. But a Satrapal family, the Kshaharātas, extended their power to Western India and the Deccan, and wrested parts of Mahārāshṭra from the Śātavāhanas. The Śātavāhana king apparently retired to the southern part of his dominions, probably to the Janapada of the Bellary District which came to be known as Śātavāhanihāra, and was at one time under the direct administration of a military governor (mahāsenāpati) named Skandanāga.[1] The name of the Scythian conquerors of Mahārāshṭra, Kshaharāta, seems to be identical with "Karatai," the designation of a famous Śaka tribe mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy.[2]

The known members of the Kshaharāta, Khakharāta, or Chaharata family are Liaka, Patika, Ghaṭāka, Bhūmaka and **Nahapāna**. Of these Liaka, Patika and Ghaṭāka belonged to the Taxila and Mathurā regions respectively. Bhūmaka was a Kshatrapa of Kāthiāwār. Rapson says that he preceded Nahapāna. His coin types are "arrow, discus and thunderbolt." These types may be compared with the reverse type "discus, bow and arrow" of certain copper coins struck conjointly by Spalirises and Azes I.

[1] Ep. Ind., XIV, 155.

[2] Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 400. Mr. Y. R. Gupte points out (Ind. Ant., 1926, 178) that among the shepherds of the Deccan we have the surname Kharāta which he considers to be a shortened form of Khakharāta (Kshaharāta).

Nahapāna was the greatest of the Kshaharāta Satraps. Eight Cave Inscriptions discovered at Paṇḍulena, near Nāsik, Junnar and Karle (in the Poona District) prove the inclusion of a considerable portion of Māhārāshṭra within his dominions. Seven of these inscriptions describe the benefactions of his son-in-law Ushavadāta, the Śaka, while the eighth inscription specifies the charitable works of Ayama, the Amātya. Ushavadāta's inscriptions indicate that Nahapāna's political influence probably extended from Poona (in Mahārāshṭra) and Śūrpāraka (in North Koṅkaṇ) to Mandasor (Daśapura in Mālwa) and the district of Ajmir including Pushkara, the place of pilgrimage to which Ushavadāta resorted for consecration after his victory over the Malayas or Mālavas.

The Nāsik and Karle records give the dates 41, 42, and 45, of an unspecified era, and call Nahapāna a Kshatrapa, while the Junnar epigraph of Ayama specifies the date 46 and speaks of Nahapāna as Mahākshatrapa. The generally accepted view is that these dates are to be referred to the Śaka era of 78 A.D. The name Nahapāna is no doubt Persian, but the Kshaharāta tribe to which Nahapāna belonged was probably a Śaka tribe, and Ushavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna, distinctly calls himself a Śaka. It is, therefore, probable that the era of 78 A.D. derives its name of Śaka era from the Śaka princes of the House of Nahapāna. Rapson accepts the view that Nahapāna's dates are recorded in years of the Śaka era, beginning in 78 A.D., and, therefore, assigns Nahapāna to the period A.D. 119 to A.D. 124. Several scholars identify Nahapāna with Mambarus (Nambanus?)[1] of the Periplus whose capital was Minnagara in Ariake. According to Professor Bhandarkar Minnagara is modern Mandasor,[2] and Ariake is

[1] JRAS., 1912, p. 785.

[2] See also Bomb. Gaz., I. 1. 15 n.; *cf.*, however, Ind. Ant., 1926, p. 143, *Capital of Nahapāna* (=Junnar). Fleet identifies Minnagara with Dohad in the Pañch

Aparāntika.[1] Mr R. D. Banerji and Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil are, however, of opinion that Nahapāna's dates are not referable to the Śaka era. They say that if we admit that the inscriptions of Nahapāna are dated in the Śaka era, there will be only an interval of five years between the inscription of this king, dated 46 and the inscriptions of Rudradāman, dated 52. Within these years must have taken place :

(1) The end of Nahapāna's reign;
(2) The destruction of the Kshaharātas;
(3) The accession of Chashṭana as Kshatrapa, his reign as Kshatrapa, his accession as a Mahākshatrapa, and his reign as Mahākshatrapa;
(4) The accession of Jayadāman as Kshatrapa, his reign as Kshatrapa, and perhaps also his reign as Mahākshatrapa ;
(5) The accession of Rudradāman and the beginning of his reign.

There is no necessity, however, of crowding the events mentioned above within five years (between the year 46, the last known date of Nahapāna, and the year 52, the first known date of Rudradāman). There is nothing to show that Chashṭana's family came to power after the destruction of the Kshaharātas. The line of Chashṭana may have been ruling in Cutch and perhaps some adjacent territories (as the Andhau inscriptions of the year 52 suggest) while the Kshaharātas were ruling in parts of Mālwa and Mahārāshṭra. Moreover, there is no good

Mahāls (JRAS., 1912, p. 788 ; 1913, 993n). In a paper read at the sixth conference of Orientalists at Patna Mr. Jayaswal referred to a Jaina work which mentions Broach as the capital of Nahapāna. (See now Āvaśyaka sūtra, JBORS., 1930, Sept.-Dec., 290). For a different tradition see IHQ, 1929, 356.

[1] *Cf.* also IA., 7, 259, 263 ; Ariake may also be Aryaka of Varāhamihira's Bṛihat Saṁhitā.

ground for believing that a long interval elapsed from the accession of Chashṭana to that of Rudradāman. Professors Bhandarkar and Majumdar have pointed out that the Andhau inscriptions clearly prove that Chashṭana and Rudradāman ruled conjointly in the year 52. Prof. J. Dubreuil rejects their view on the ground that there is no "cha" after Rudradāman in the text of the inscription (Rājña Chashṭanasa Ysāmotika-putrasa rājña Rudradāmasa Jayadāma-putrasa varshe dvipachāse 50, 2). Prof. Dubreuil translates the passage thus :

In the 52nd year, in the reign of Rudradāman, son of Jayadāman, *grandson* of Chashṭana *and great-grandson* of Ysāmotika.

The Professor who objects to a *cha*, himself makes use not only of "and" but also of the words "grandson" and "great-grandson" no trace of which can be found in the original record. Had his translation been what the writer of the Andhau inscriptions intended, we should have expected to find the name of Ysāmotika first, and then the name of Chashṭana followed by those of Jayadāman and Rudradāman—Ysāmotika prapautrasa Chashṭana pautrasa Jayadāma-putrasa Rudradāmasa.[1] Moreover, it is significant that in the text of the inscription there is no royal title prefixed to the name of Jayadāman who ruled between Chashṭana and Rudradāman according to Dubreuil. On the other hand, both Chashṭana and Rudradāman are called **rājā.** The two are mentioned in exactly the same way—with the honorific Rājā and the patronymic. The literal translation of the inscriptional passage is "in the year 52 of king Chashṭana son of Ysāmotika, of king Rudradāman son of Jayadāman," and this certainly indicates that the year 52 belonged to the reign both of Chashṭana and Rudradāman. The conjoint rule of two kings was known to

[1] *Cf.* the Junāgaḍh, Guṇda and Jasdhan inscriptions.

ancient Hindu writers on polity.[1] The theory of the conjoint rule of Chashṭana and his grandson is supported by the fact that Jayadāman did not live to be Mahākshatrapa and must have predeceased his father, Chashṭana, as, unlike Chashṭana and Rudradāman, he is called simply a Kshatrapa (not Mahākshatrapa and Bhadramukha) even in the inscriptions of his descendants.[2] We have already noticed the fact that the title rājā, which is given to Chashṭana and Rudradāman in the Andhau inscriptions, is not given to Jayadāman.

Mr. R. D. Banerji says that the inscriptions of Nahapāna cannot be referred to the same era as used on the coins and inscriptions of Chashṭana's dynasty because if we assume that Nahapāna was dethroned in 46 Ś. E., Gautamîputra must have held Nāsik up to 52 Ś. E. (from his 18th to his 24th year), then Pulumāyi held the city up to the 22nd year of his reign, *i.e.*, up to at least 74 Ś. E. But Rudradāman is known to have defeated Pulumāyi and taken Nāsik before that time. Banerji's error lies in the tacit assumption that Rudradāman twice occupied Nāsik before the year 73 of the Śaka era. Another untenable assumption of Mr. Banerji is that Rudradāman finished his conquests before the year 52 or A. D. 130, whereas the Andhau inscriptions merely imply the possession of Cutch by the House of Chashṭana.

The theory of those who refer Nahapāna's dates to the Śaka era, is confirmed by the fact pointed out by Prof. Bhandarkar and others that a Nāsik inscription of

[1] *Cf.* Dvirāja in Atharva Veda (V. 20, 9); Dvairājya in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra p. 325; Dorajja of Ayāraṅga Sutta; the classical account of Patalene, p. 175 *ante*; the case of Dhṛtarāshṭra and Duryodhana in the Great Epic; of Eukratides and his son in Justin's work; of Strato I and Strato II; of Azes and Azilises, etc., etc. The Mahāvastu (III. 432) refers to the conjoint rule of three brothers :—"Kaliṅgeshu Siṁhapuraṁ nāma nagaraṁ tatra trayo bhrātaro ekamātṛikā rājyaṁ kārayaṁti." See also IA., 6. 29.

[2] *Cf.* the Guṇḍa and Jasdhan inscriptions.

Nahapāna refers to a gold currency doubtless of the Kushāns who could not have ruled in India before the first century A. D.

The power of Nahapāna and his allies was threatened by the Malayas (**Mālavas**) from the north, and the Śātavāhanas from the south. The incursion of the Mālavas was repelled by Ushavadāta. But the Śātavāhana attack proved fatal to Śaka rule in Mahārāshṭra. The Nāsik praśasti calls Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi the uprooter of the Kshaharāta race and the restorer of the Śātavāhana power. That Nahapāna himself was overthrown by Gautamîputra is proved by the testimony of the Jogaltembhi hoard which consisted of Nahapāna's own coins and coins restruck by Gautamîputra. In the restruck coins there was not a single one belonging to any prince other than Nahapāna as would certainly have been the case if any ruler had intervened between Nahapāna and Gautamîputra.

II. The Restoration of the Śātavāhana Empire.

Gautamīputra's victory over the Kshaharātas led to the restoration of the Śātavāhana power in Mahārāshṭra and the adjoining provinces. The recovery of Mahārāshṭra is proved by a Nāsik inscription, dated in the year 18 [1] and a Karle epigraph addressed to the Amātya in charge of Māmāla (the district round Karle, modern Māval). But this was not the only achievement of Gautamîputra. We learn from the Nāsik record of queen Gautamî that her son destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas, and that his dominions extended not only over Asika,[2] Asaka (Aśmaka on the Godāvarî, *i.e.*, Mahārāshṭra),[3] and Mūlaka (the district round Paithan), but also over Suratha (Kāthiāwār), Kukura (in Western or Central India, near the Pāriyātra or the Western Vindhyas),[4] Aparānta (North Koṅkaṇ), Anupa (district round Māhiśmatî on the Narmadā), Vidarbha (Berar), and Ākara-Avanti (East and West Mālwa). He is further styled lord of all the mountains from the Vindhyas to the Travancore hills.[5] The names of the Andhra country (Andhrāpatha) and South Kosala are, however, conspicuous by their absence. Inscriptions and the testimony of Hiuen Tsang prove that both these territories were at one time or other included within the Śātavāhana empire. The earliest Śātavāhana king whose inscriptions have been found in the Andhra region is Pulumāyi, son of Gautamîputra.

[1] The Nāsik Edict was issued from the victorious camp at Vejayanti and was addressed to the Amātya in charge of Govardhana (Nāsik).

[2] *Cf.* Arshika, Patañjali, IV, 22.

[3] Shamasastry's translation of the Arthaśāstra, p. 143, n. 2.

[4] Brihat Saṁhitā, XIV, 4.

[5] The possession of Vejayanti in the Kanarese country is specially referred to in the Nāsik Inscription of the year 18.

In the Nāsik praśasti Gautamîputra figures not only as a conqueror, but also as a social reformer. "He crushed down the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas, furthered the interest of Dvijas and Kuṭubas (agriculturists) and stopped the contamination of the four varṇas."

According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, Gautamîputra reigned conjointly with his son Pulumāyi. They give the following reasons :—

(1) In Gautamî's inscription (dated in the 19th year of her grandson Pulumāyi) she is called the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king. This statement would be pointless if she were not both at one and the same time.

(2) If it were a fact that Gautamîputra was dead when the queen-mother's inscription was written, and Pulumāyi alone was reigning, we should expect to find the exploits of the latter also celebrated in the inscription. But there is not a word in praise of him. A king dead for 19 years is extolled, and the reigning king passed over in silence.

(3) The inscription dated in the year 24, engraved on the east wall of the Veranda of the Nāsik Cave No. 3, which records a grant made by Gautamîputra and his mother, "whose son is living," in favour of certain Buddhist monks "dwelling in *the cave which was a pious gift of theirs*," presupposes *the gift of the Nasik Cave No. 3* in the 19th year of Pulumāyi. Consequently Gautamîputra was alive after the 19th year of his son.

As regards point (1), it may be said that usually a queen sees only her husband and son on the throne. Queen Gautamî Balaśrī, on the other hand, was one of the fortunate (or unfortunate) few who saw grandchildren on the throne. Therefore she claimed to be the mother of a great king and the grandmother of a great king.

As to point (2), although it is not customary for an ordinary subject to extol a dead king and pass over a reigning monarch in silence, still it is perfectly natural for a queen-mother in her old age to recount the glories of a son who was associated with her in a previous gift.

As to point (3), it is not clear that the gift referred to in the postscript of the year 24 was identical with the grant of the year 19 of Pulumāyi. The donors in the postscript were king Gautamîputra and his mother, the donor in the year 19 of Pulumāyi was the queen-mother *alone*. In the inscription of the year 24, the queen-mother is called Mahādevî *jivasutā* Rājamātā. In Pulumāyi's inscription the epithets Mahādevî and Rājamātā are retained but the epithet " Jivasutā " is significantly omitted. The donees in the former grant were the Tekirasi ascetics in general, the donees in the latter grant were the Bhadavānîya monks. The object of grant in the former case may have been merely the Veranda of Cave No. 3, which contains the postscript of the year 24, and whose existence before the 19th year of Pulumāyi is attested by an edict of Gautamîputra of the year 18. On the other hand, the cave given away to the Bhadavānīya monks was the whole of Cave No. 3.

If Gautamîputra and his son reigned simultaneously, and if the latter ruled as his father's colleague in Mahārāshṭra, then it is difficult to explain why Gautamîputra was styled "Govadhanasa Benākaṭakasvāmi," and why he addressed the officer at Govardhana directly, ignoring his son who is represented as ruling over Mahārāshṭra, while in the record of the year 19, Pulumāyi was considered as so important that the date was recorded in the years of his reign, and not in that of his father who was the senior ruler.[1]

[1] *Cf.* R. D. Banerji, JRAS., 1917, pp. 281 *et seq.* Note also the epithet (Dakshiṇā) patheśvara applied to Pulumāyi in the praśasti of the year 19.

The generally accepted view is that **Pulumāyi** succeeded Gautamîputra. We learn from Ptolemy that his capital was Baithan, *i.e.*, Paithan or Pratishṭhāna on the Godāvarî, identified by Bhandarkar with Navanara, or Navanagara, *i.e.*, the new city. Inscriptions and coins prove that Pulumāyi's dominions included the Kṛishṇā district as well as Mahārāshṭra. We have already seen that the Andhra country is not mentioned in the list of territories over which Gautamîputra held his sway. It is not altogether improbable that Vāsishṭhîputra Pulumāyi was the first to establish the Śātavāhana power in that region. Sukhtaṅkar identifies him with Siri Pulumāyi, king of the Śātavāhanas, mentioned in an inscription discovered in the Adoni tāluk of the Bellary district. But the absence of the distinguishing metronymic probably indicates that the king referred to in the inscription is Pulumāyi I of the Purāṇas. Rapson identifies Pulumâyi with Vāsishṭhīputra Śrî Śātakarṇi who is represented in a Kanheri inscription as the husband of a daughter of the Mahākshatrapa Ru(dra). He further identifies this Rudra with Rudradāman I and says that Pulumāyi must be identified with Śātakarṇi, lord of the Deccan, whom Rudradāman "twice in fair fight completely defeated, but did not destroy on account of the nearness of their connection." Prof. Bhandarkar, however, does not accept the identification of Pulumāyi with **Vāsishṭhīputra Śri Śātakarṇi** of the Kanheri Cave Inscription. He identifies the latter with Śiva Śrî Sātakarṇi, the Śiva Śrî of the Matsya Purāṇa, probably a brother of Pulumāyi. Another brother of Pulumāyi was probably Śri Chandra Śāti. A Nānāghāṭ Inscription discloses the existence of a Vāsishṭhîputra Chatarapana Śātakarṇi, whose identity, however, remains undetermined.

The next important kings were Śrî Śāta (miscalled Sakasena) and **Yajñaśrî Śātakarṇi.** Yajñaśrî's inscriptions,

which prove that he reigned for at least 27 years, are found at the following places, *viz.*, Nāsik in Mahārāshṭra, Kanheri in Aparānta, and China in the Kṛishṇa district. His coins are found in Gujarāt, Kāthiāwār, East Mālwa, Aparānta, the Central Provinces, and the Kṛishṇā district. There can be no doubt that he ruled over both Mahārāshṭra and the Andhra country. Smith says that his silver coins imitating the coinage of the Śaka rulers of Ujjain probably point to victories over the latter, and that the coins bearing the figure of a ship suggest the inference that the king's power extended over the sea. He thus anticipated the naval ventures of the Kadambas of Goa, of Śivāji and of Angria.[1]

Yajñaśrî was the last great king of his dynasty. After his death the Śātavāhanas probably lost Mahārāshṭra to the **Ābhīra** king **Īśvarasena.**[2] The later Śātavāhana princes—Śrî Rudra Śātakarṇi, Śrî Krishṇa (II) Śātakarṇi, Śrî Chandra II and others—ruled in the Eastern Deccan and

[1] Rapson, however, says (Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, p. 22) in reference to certain lead coins (of the Coromandel coast) : " obv. Ship with two masts. Inscr. not completely read, but apparently Siri-Pu (ḷumā) visa."

[2] The earliest reference to the *Ābhīras* to which a date can be assigned is that contained in the Mahābhāshya of Patañjali. The Mahābhāshya as well as the Mahābhārata connect them with the Śūdras—the Sodrai of Alexander's historians. Their country—Abiria—finds mention in the Periplus. In the third quarter of the second century A.D., Ābhīra chieftains figured as generals of the Śaka rulers of Western India. Shortly afterwards a chief named Iśvaradatta, probably an Ābhīra, became Mahākshatrapa. His relation to the Ābhīra king Māḍhariputra Iśvara Sena, son of Śiva Datta, remains doubtful. But some scholars are inclined to identify the two chiefs. It is also suggested that this dynasty of Īśvara Sena is identical with the Traikuṭaka line of Aparānta, and that the establishment of the Traikuṭaka era in A.D. 249 marks the date at which the Ābhīras succeeded the Śātavāhanas in the Government of Northern Mahārāshṭra and the adjoining region. The last known rulers of the Traikuṭaka line were Indradatta, his son Dahrasena (455-6 A.D.), and *his* son Vyāghrasena (489-90), after whom the kingdom seems to have been conquered by the Vākāṭaka king Harishena.

were supplanted by the **Ikshvākus**[1] and the **Pallavas.**[2]

[1] The *Ikshvākus* are known from inscriptions discovered on the ruins of the Jagayyapeta stūpa in the Kṛishṇā District and also at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in the Guṇṭūr District (Ep. Ind., 1929, 1f.). They were matrimonially connected with the Kekayas, probably a ruling family of Ancient Mysore (Dubreuil, AHD., pp. 88, 101). The most well known rulers of the Ikshvāku family of the Eastern Deccan are Chāṁtamūla and Śrī-Vīra-Purusha-datta. The Ikshvākus were succeeded by the Bṛihatphalāyanas of Kudurāhāra (near Masulipatam), the Śālaṅkāyanas of Veṅgi (*cf.* IA., 5, 175 and the Salakenoi of Ptolemy), and the Vishṇukuṇḍins of Leṇḍulura (near Veṅgi).

[2] The *Pallavas*—a people of unknown origin, claiming descent from Aśvatthāman—are the most important of all the dynasties that succeeded the Śātavāhanas in the Far South. Their first great king Siva-Skanda-varman is known from the inscriptions found at Mayidavolu (in Guṇṭūr) and Hirahadagalli (in Bellary) to have ruled over an extensive empire including Kāñchī, Andhrāpatha and Śātahani raṭṭha, and performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice. The evidence of the Penukonda plates, the Talgunda Inscription and the Hebbata grant (IHQ., 1927, 431) seems to suggest that the Pallava supremacy was acknowledged by the early Gaṅgas of Southern Mysore and the early Kadambas of Vaijayanti (Banavāsi). About the middle of the fourth century A. D. the emperor Samudra Gupta invaded Southern India, defeated the reigning Pallava king Vishṇugopa, and gave a severe blow to the power and prestige of the Empire of Kāñchī which probably led to its disruption. The history of the Pallavas during the next two centuries is obscure. Inscriptions disclose the names of the following kings, but very little is known about them :—

Kings of Kṛishṇā, Guṇṭūr and Nellore Districts.

Kumāravishṇu
|
Skandavarman I
|
Vīravarman
|
(1) Skandavarman II (Tambrapa).
|
(2) Yuva-mahārāja Vishṇugopa (Palakkada).
|
(3) Siṁhavarman (Daśanapura, Menmātura and Veṅgorāshṭra).
|
(4) Vijaya Vishṇugopa Varman.

Omgodu, Uruvapalli, Mangalur, Pikira and Chura grants

Lokavibhāga and Penukonda plates?

Kings of Kāñchī.

Vishṇugopa
|
Skandamūla Kanagopa Vīrakūrcha II
|
Skandavarman (Skanda-śisbya).
|
Kumāravishṇu, I, recovered Kāñchī.
|
Buddhavarman, defeated Cholas.
|
Kumāra Vishṇu II
⋮
Skandavarman
|
Siṁhavarman
|
Skandavarman
|
Nandivarman
⋮
Siṁhavarman
|
Siṁhavishṇu
|
Mahendravarman I
|
Narasiṁhavarman I
Contemporary of Pulakesin II.

Vāyalur, Velur Palaiyam, Darsi and Chendalur grants.

Udayendiram grant.

The **Śātakarṇis of Kuntala**, or the Kanarese districts,—Hāritīputra Vishṇukaḍa-Chuṭūkulānanda Śātakarṇi, Rājā of Vaijayantipura, his daughter's son Hāritîputra Śiva-Skanda-varman (Śiva-Skand-Nāgá Śrî or Skanda-Nāga Śātaka) and others were succeeded by the Kadambas.[1] A new power—the Vākāṭaka—arose in the central Deccan probably towards the close of the third century A.D.

[1] The *Kadamba* dynasty was founded by Mayuraśarman, a Brāhmaṇa, who rose against the Pallavas and, helped by "Vṛihad Bāṇa" and other kings, compelled the lord of Kāñchī to confer on him the fillet of sovereignty. He soon pushed his conquests to the western ocean, destroying the power of the Śātakarṇis of Vaijayantī. His great-grandson Kākustha -varman gave his daughters in marriage to the Guptas and other kings. His grandson Mṛigeśa-varman defeated the Gaṅgas and Pallavas and had his capital at Vaijayantī. Other branches of the family ruled at Palāśikā, Uchchaśṛingi and Triparvata. The Kadambas were finally overthrown by the Chalukyas. For the Kadambas see now Moraes, Kadamba-Kula.

III. The Śakas of Ujjain.

The greatest rivals of the restored Śātavāhana Empire were at first the Śaka Kshatrapas of Ujjain. The progenitor of the Śaka princes of Ujjain was Ysamotika who was the father of Chashṭana, the first Mahākshatrapa of the family. The name of Ysamotika is Scythic.[1] His descendant, who was killed by Chandra Gupta II, is called a Śaka king by Bāṇa in his Harshacharita. It is, therefore, assumed by scholars that the Kshatrapa family of Ujjain was of Śaka nationality.

The proper name of the dynasty is not known. Rapson says that it may have been Kārddamaka. The daughter of Rudradāman boasts that she is descended from the family of Kārddamaka kings ; but she may have been indebted to her mother for this distinction. The Kārddamaka kings apparently derive their name from the Kārdama, a river in Persia.[2]

According to Dubreuil, **Chashṭana** ascended the throne in A. D. 78, and was the founder of the Śaka era. But this is improbable in view of the fact that the capital of Chashṭana (Tiastanes) was Ujjain (Ozene of Ptolemy), whereas we learn from the Periplus that Ozene was not a capital in the seventies of the first century A. D.[3] The Periplus speaks of Ozene as a former capital, implying that it was not a capital in its own time. The earliest known date of Chashṭana is S. E. 52, *i.e.*, A. D. 130. We learn from

1 JRAS., 1906, p. 211. Lévi and Konow (Corpus, II. i. lxx) identify Ysamotika with Bhūmaka on the ground that the Śaka word "Ysama" means earth But, identity of meaning of names need not necessarily prove identity of persons. *Cf.* the cases of Kumāra Gupta and Skanda Gupta.

2 Pārasika, Shama Sastry's translation of Kauṭilya, p. 86.

3 The Periplus mentions Malichos (Maliku), the king of the Nabataeans who died in A. D. 75, and Zoscales (Za Hakale), king of the Auxumites who reigned from A. D. 76 to 89 (JRAS., 1917, 827-830).

the Andhau inscriptions that in the year A.D. 130 Chashṭana was ruling conjointly with his grandson Rudradāman. Professors Rapson and Bhandarkar point out that his foreign title Kshatrapa, and the use of the Kharoshṭhî alphabet on his coins, clearly show that he was a Viceroy of some northern power—probably of the Kushāns. Jayadāman, son of Chashṭana, seems to have acted merely as a Kshatrapa and to have pre-deceased his father, and the latter was succeeded as Mahākshatrapa by Rudradāman.

Rudradāman [1] became an independent Mahākshatrapa some time between the years 52 and 72 (A. D. 130 and 150). We learn from the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of the year 72 that men of all castes chose him as protector and that he won for himself the title of Mahākshatrapa. This probably indicates that the power of his house had been shaken by some enemy (Gautamîputra?), and he had to restore the supreme Satrapal dignity by his own prowess.

The place names in the inscription seem to show that the rule of Rudradāman extended over Pûrv-āpar-Ākar-Āvanti (East and West Mālwa), Anupa-nivrit or the Māhishmatî (Māndhātā?) region(Nimāḍ?), Ānartta[2] (district round Dwārakā), Surāshṭra (district round Junāgaḍh), Svabhra (the country on the banks of the Sābarmatî), Maru (Mārwār), Kachchha (Cutch), Sindhu-Sauvîra (the Lower Indus Valley),[3] Kukura (part of Central India, probably

[1] For references to Rudradāman in literature, see Chatterjee, *Buddhistic Studies* (ed. Law), p. 384 f.

[2] Ānartta may, according to some, however, designate the district round Vaḍanagara (Bom. Gaz. 1, i, 6). In that case Kukura should be placed in the Dwārakā region. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa refers to Dwārakā as "Kukur-Āndhaka-Vṛishṇibhiḥ guptāḥ" (1. 11, 10).

[3] Sindhu is the inland portion lying to the west of the Indus (Watters, Yuan Chwang, II, 252, 253, read with 256; Vātsyāyana, *Kāmasūtra*, Benares Ed. 295), Sauvîra includes the littoral (Milinda Pañho, S. B. E., XXXVI. 269), as well as the inland portion lying to the east of the Indus as far as Multān (Alberuni, I. 302; IA., 7, 259). The Jaina *Pravachanasāraddhāra* names Vîtabhaya as the capital.

near the Pāriyātra Mt. according to the Bṛihat Saṁhitā XIV, 4), Aparānta (N. Koṅkaṇ),[1] Nishāda (in the region of the Sarasvatî and the Western Vindhyas, *cf.* Nishādarāshṭra, Mbh. III. 130. 4; and Pāriyātracharaḥ, Mbh., XII. 135,3-5),[2] etc. Of these places Surāshṭra, Kukura, Aparānta, Anupa, and Ākarāvanti formed part of Gautamîputra's dominions, and must have been conquered either from that king or one of his sons. The Junāgaḍh inscription gives the information that Rudradāman twice defeated Śātakarṇi, lord of the Deccan, but did not destroy him on account of their near relationship. According to Professor Bhandarkar this Śātakarṇi was Gautamîputra himself, whose son Vāsishthîputra Śātakarṇi was Rudradāman's son-in-law. According to Rapson the lord of the Deccan defeated by the Śaka ruler was Pulumāyi.

The great Satrap also conquered the Yaudheyas (of Johiya-bār along the Sutlej ?) who are known, from a stone inscription, to have occupied the Bijayagaḍh region in the Bharatpur state. If the Kushān chronology accepted by us be correct then he must have wrested Sindhu-Sauvîra from one of the successors of Kanishka I.

Rudradāman apparently held his court at Ujjain, which is mentioned by Ptolemy as the capital of his grandfather Chashṭana, placing the provinces of Ānarta and Surāshṭra under his Pahlava (Parthian) Amātya[3] Suviśākha, who constructed a new dam on the famous Sudarśana Lake

[1] Aparānta in its extended sense (*cf.* Aśoka, RE, V) no doubt embraces not only Śūrpāraka but Nāsik, Bharukachchha, the Mahî valley, Cutch, Surāshṭra, Ānartta, Abu. etc. (Vāyu, 45, 129 f.; Matsya, 114, 50-51; Mārk, 57, 49 f.—but the text is corrupt and Śurpārakāḥ, Kachchhīyāḥ and Ānarttāḥ should be substituted for Śūryārakāḥ, Kāśmīrāḥ and Āvantyāḥ). But as the Junāgaḍh record distinguishes Aparānta from Surāshṭra, Ānartta, etc., it is clearly used here in its restricted sense.

[2] According to Bühler (IA., 7, 263) Nishāda probably corresponded with Hissar and Bhatnīr.

[3] With this bureaucratic designation is to be contrasted the title *Rājā* applied to Tushāspha, the local ruler of Surāshṭra in the days of Aśoka, who " was more than a mere official " (IA., 7, 257 n.).

which owed its origin to the "care bestowed by the Maurya government upon the question of irrigation, even in the most remote provinces."

The great Kshatrapa is said to have gained fame by studying grammar (śabda), polity (artha), music (gāndharva), logic (nyāya), etc. As a test of the civilised character of his rule it may be noted that he took, and kept to the end of his life, the vow to stop killing men except in battle. The Sudarśana embankment was built and the lake reconstructed by "expending a great amount of money from his own treasury, without oppressing the people of the town and of the province by exacting taxes (Kara), forced labour (Vishṭi), benevolences (Praṇaya), and the like."[1] The king was helped in the work of government by an able staff of officials, who were "fully endowed with the qualifications of ministers" (amātya-guṇa-samudyuktaiḥ) and were divided into two classes, *viz.*, Mâtisachiva (Councillors) and Karma-sachiva (Executive Officers).

Rudradāman was succeeded by his eldest son **Dāmaghsada I.** After Dāmaghsada there were (according to Rapson) two claimants for the succession: his son Jîvadāman and his brother Rudra Siṁha I. The struggle was eventually decided in favour of the latter. To **Rudra Siṁha's** reign belongs the Guṇḍa inscription of the year 103 (= A.D. 181) which records the digging of a tank by an Ābhīra general named Rudrabhûti, son of the general Bāhaka. The Ābhīras afterwards usurped the position of Mahākshatrapa. According to Professor Bhandarkar an Ābhīra named Īśvaradatta was the Mahākshatrapa of the period 188-90 A.D. But Rapson places Īśvaradatta after A.D. 236.

Rudra Siṁha I was followed by his sons **Rudrasena I,**[2]

[1] Bomb. Gaz., I, 1, 39.

[2] To Rudrasena's reign belong the Mulwasar inscription of A. D. 200, and Jasdhan inscription of A. D. 205. In the latter inscription we have the title *Bhadramukha* applied to all the ancestors of Rudrasena, excepting Jayadāma.

Saṅghadāman and Dāmasena. Three of Dāmasena's sons became Mahākshatrapas, *viz.*, Yaśodāman, Vijaysena and Dāmajada Śrî. This last prince was succeeded by his nephew Rudrasena II who was followed by his sons Viśvasiṁha and Bhartṛidāman. Under Bhartṛidāman his son Viśvasena served as Kshatrapa.

The connection of Bhartṛidāman and Viśvasena with the next Mahākshatrapa **Rudradāman II** and his successors cannot be ascertained. The last known member of the line was **Rudra Siṁha III** who ruled up to at least A.D. 388.

The rule of the Śakas of Western India was destroyed by the Guptas. Already in the time of Samudra Gupta the Śakas appear among the peoples represented as doing respectful homage to him. The Udayagiri Inscriptions of Chandra Gupta II testify to that monarch's conquest of Eastern Mālwa. One of the Inscriptions commemorates the construction of a cave by a minister of Chandra Gupta who "came here, accompanied by the king in person, who was seeking to conquer the whole world." The subjugation of western Mālwa is probably hinted at by the epithet "Siṁha-vikrānta-gāmini," or vassal of Siṁha Vikrama, *i.e.*, Chandra Gupta II, applied to Naravarman of Mandasor.[1] Evidence of the conquest of Surāshṭra is to be seen in Chandra Gupta's silver coins which are imitated from those of the Śaka Satraps. Lastly, Bâṇa in his Harshacharita refers to the slaying of the Śaka king by Chandra Gupta: Ar(l)ipure cha para-kalatra kāmukam kāminî-veśa-guptaścha Chandra Guptaḥ Śaka-patim aśātayaditi.[2]

[1] Ind. Ant., 1913, p 162.

[2] According to the commentator Śaṅkara the *Parakalatra* and *Kāminî* referred to above was Dhruva-devî, and the ruler of the Śakas was secretly killed by Chandragupta disguised as Dhruva-devî while the former was making advances of love. The Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa by Bhoja throws additional light on the point, quoting passages from the *Devîchandraguptam* (*see* Devîchandraguptam by A. Rangaswami Sarasvatî, Ind. Ant., 1923, p. 181 ff.).

IV. Administrative Machinery of the Scythian Period.[1]

The little that we know about the administration of the Scythian Epoch leaves no room for doubt that the institutions of the age were not haphazard improvisations of military upstarts, having no relations with the past, but a highly developed and organised system—the fruit of the labours of generations of political thinkers and statesmen (*Vaktṛi-Prayoktṛi*).

The influence of *Arthachintakas* on Indo-Scythian Polity is evident. The ablest among the princes of the time assiduously studied the *Arthavidyā*[2]; and the care taken to train the occupant of the throne, the employment of officers endowed with *Amātyaguṇa*, the classification of *Sachivas*, abstention from oppressive imposition of *Praṇaya*, *Vishṭi*, etc., and the solicitude for the welfare of the Pauras and Jānapadas clearly show that the teaching of the *Arthaśāstra* writers was not lost upon the Scythian conquerors of India. There was no great cleavage with the past, and the references to *Mahāmātras*,[3] *Rajjukas*,[4] and *Saṁcharaṁtaka* or *Sañchārin*[5] spies, indicate that the official machinery of the Maurya period had not ceased to function at least in Southern India.

But we must not suppose that the entire administrative structure of the period was a replica of the Maurya

[1] The expression "Scythian Period" has been used in this section in a broad sense to denote the epoch of all the Post-Mauryan dynasties that ruled in India during the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian era. During the greater part of this period the most powerful potentate in India was the Scythian 'King of Kings" who had his metropolis in the North-West, but whose commands were not unoften obeyed on the banks of the Ganges and the Godāvari. *See* Calc. Rev., Sept., 1925.

[2] The Junāgaḍh Inscription of Rudradāman (Ind. Ant., 1878, p. 261, Ep. Ind., VIII. 36 f.).

[3] Lüders' Ins., Nos. 937, 1144. Note the employment of a Śramaṇa as Mahāmātra by a Śātavāhana ruler.

[4] Ins. Nos. 416, 1195.

[5] Ins. No. 1200; *cf.* IA., 5, 52, 155.

constitution. The foreign conquerors of North-Western India brought with them several institutions which had been prevalent for ages in the countries through which they passed. Thus the Persian system of government by Satraps was introduced in several provinces of Northern, Western and Southern India, and officials with the Greek titles of *Meridarch*[1] and *Strategos* ruled contemporaneously with functionaries having the Indian designations of *Amātya* and *Mahāsenāpati*.

The tide of Scythian invasion could not sweep away the tribal republics which continued to flourish as in the days of Buddha and Alexander. Inscriptions and coins testify to the existence of many such communities,[2] and like the *Lichchhavis* and *Śākyas* of old, the most powerful among them were found very often ranged against their aggressive royal neighbours who were now mostly Scythian. Unfortunately, the contemporary records do not throw much light on their internal organisation, and it serves no useful purpose to ascribe to them institutions which really belong to their predecessors or successors.

Though the Scythians could not annihilate the republican clans, they did destroy many monarchies of Northern and Western India, and introduce a more exalted type of kingship. The exaltation of monarchy is apparent from two facts, namely, the assumption of high-sounding semi-divine honorifics by reigning monarchs, and the apotheosis of deceased rulers. The deification of rulers, and the use of big titles are not unknown to ancient Indian literature, but it is worthy of note that a supreme ruler like Aśoka, whose dominions embraced the greater part of India and

[1] A Meridarkha Theūdora is mentioned in a Swat epigraph. Another Mesidarkha is mentioned in a Taxila inscription.

[2] *E.g.*, the Mālavas (Malayas), Yaudheyas, Arjunāyanas and possibly the Udumbaras, Kulūtas, Kunindas (see Camb. Hist., 528, 529), and Uttamabhadras, *Cf.* Smith, Catalogue of Coins, Sec. VII.

Afghanistān, was content with the titles of "Rājā" and "Devānampiya Piyadasi."[1] The great rulers of the Scythian age, on the other hand, were no longer satisfied with those modest epithets, but assumed more dignified titles like Chakravarti, Adhirāja, Rājātirāja and Devaputra (the son and not merely the beloved of the gods).

In Southern India we come across titles of a semi-religious character like Bhikshurāja(?), Kshemarāja,[2] Dharma-Mahārājādhirāja and Dharma-Yuvamahārāja[3] assumed by pious defenders of Indian faiths, probably to distinguish themselves from the unbelieving foreigners and barbarian outcasts of the North-West.

The assumption of big titles[4] by kings and emperors was paralleled by the use of equally exalted epithets in reference to their chief consorts. Aśoka's queens appear to have been styled merely Devî. The mother of Tîvara, for instance, is called "Dutîā Devi" and the implication is that the elder queen was Prathamā Devî. But in the Scythian epoch we come across the titles of Agra-Mahishî and Mahādevî which distinguished the chief queen from her rivals. Among such chief consorts may be mentioned Ayasi-Kamuia, Nāganikā, and Balaśrî.

The apotheosis of deceased rulers is strikingly illustrated by the growing practice of erecting *Devakulas* or "Royal galleries of portrait statues." The most famous

[1] According to Herzfeld (Ep. Ind., XIX, 253) the form 'Priyadarśana' occurs in he famous Aramaic Ins. from Taxila which he refers to the reign of Aśoka, and not to the period of Persian rule.

[2] Lüders' Ins., No. 1345.

[3] Lüders' Ins., Nos. 196, 11200. For the significance of the title, *cf.* IA., 5, 51, "Kaliyuga-doshāvasanna-dharmoddharaṇa-nitya sannaddha."

[4] It is a characteristic of Indian history that imperial titles of one period became feudatory titles in the next. Thus the title Rājā used by Aśoka became a feudatory title in the Scythian and Gupta periods, when designations like Rājādhirāja and Mahārājādhirāja came into general use. But even Mahārājādhirāja became a feudatory designation in the age of the Pratihāras when the loftier style of Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara was assumed by sovereign rulers,

of these structures was the Devakula of the *Pitāmaha* of Huvishka referred to in a Mathurā inscription.[1] The existence of numerous royal Devakulas as well as ordinary temples, and the presence of the living *Devaputra* probably earned for Mathurā its secondary name of "The city of the gods."

The exaltation of royalty had the sanction of certain *Rājadharma* writers who represented the king as a "Mahatî devatā" in human shape. But it was probably due in the first instance to the Scythians [2] who acted as carriers of Persian, Chinese and Roman ideas of kingship. The title Rājātirāja, as Rapson points out, is "distinctively Persian." "It has a long history from the Kshāyathiyānām Kshāyathiya of the inscriptions of Darius down to the Shāhān Shāh of the present day."[3] The epithet "Devaputra" is apparently of Chinese origin, being the literal translation of the Chinese emperors' title "Son of Heaven" (Tien-tze).[4] If Lüders is to be believed, one at least of the Indo-Scythian sovereigns (Kanishka of the Ārā Inscription) assumed the Roman title of "Kaisar," and the dedication of temples in honour of emperors on the banks of the Tiber may have had something to do with the growing practice of erecting Devakulas on the banks of the Jumna.

A remarkable feature of the Scythian Age was the wide prevalence of the system of Dvairājya in Northern and Western India and Yauvarājya in N. W. India and

[1] JRAS., 1924, p. 402. For images of kings, *cf.* Beginnings of South Indian History, 144; Raverty, Tabaqāt, I. 622 (effigy of Bikramajit).

[2] The titles 'Theos' and 'Theotropos' were used by certain Indo-Greek rulers, but their example does not seem to have been widely followed.

[3] The expressions 'Kshatrasya Kshatra (Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad, I. 4, 14), Adhirāja, Chakravarti, etc., are, no doubt, known to our ancient literature. But there is no proof of the use of the last two as formal styles of sovereigns till the Post-Mauryan period, while the first is never so used.

[4] JRAS., 1897, 903; 1912, 671, 682.

the Far South. Under both these forms of government the sovereign's brother, son, grandson, or nephew had an important share in the administration as co-ruler or subordinate colleague. In a Dvairājya the rulers appear to have been of equal status, but in Yauvarājya the ruling prince was apparently a vice-gerent. As instances of Dvairājya may be mentioned the cases of Lysias and Antialkidas, Agathokleia and Strato I, Strato I and Strato II, Spalirises and Azes, Hagāna and Hagāmāsha, Gondophernes and Gudana (?), Gondophernes and Abdagases, Chashṭana and Rudradāman, Kanishka II and Huvishka, etc., etc. Among ruling Yuvarājas may be mentioned Kharaosta and the Pallava Yuva-Mahārājas Śiva-Śkanda-varman, Vijaya-Śkanda-varman, and Vishṇugopa of Pālakkada.

The king, or viceroy resided in cities called *Adhishṭhāna*. The number of such Adhishṭhānas and various other kinds of cities (Nagara, Nagarî), was fairly numerous. But regarding their administration our information is very meagre. We hear of "nigama-sabhās" or town councils and of a city official called Nagarāksha darśa[1] whose functions are nowhere distinctly stated.

Regarding general administration, and the government of provinces, districts and villages we have more detailed information. The designations of some of the highest officers of state did not differ from those in vogue during the Maurya period. Mahāmātras, and Rajjukas play an important part in the days of the Śātavāhanas and Scythians as in the time of Aśoka. But side by side with these functionaries we hear of others who do not figure in inscriptions of the Maurya Epoch, although some of them appear in the Arthaśāstra attributed to Kauṭilya.

[1] EHI.[4], 226; Lüders' Ins. No. 1351 (Udayagiri Cave Inscription). *Cf.* Aksha-darśa, Patañjali, Index of Words.

The officers most intimately associated with the sovereign were the privy councillors,—the Matisachivas of the Junāgaḍh epigraph and the Rahasyādhikṛita of the Pallava grants. Among other prominent court officials must be mentioned the Rāja Vaidya [1] and the Rāja Lipikara.[2]

No less important than the privy councillors were the high military officials—the Mahāsenāpati,[3] the Daṇḍanāyaka and the Mahādaṇḍa-nāyaka[4] who probably correspond to the Senāpati and Nāyaka[5] of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. These important functionaries had probably under them subordinates like Senāgopas, Gaulmikas [6] (captains), Ārakshādhikṛitas [7] (guards), Aśvavārakas [8] (troopers), Bhaṭamanushyas,[9] etc.

We have already referred to one class of civil officers (Amātyas or Sachivas), *viz.*, the Mati Sachivas. There was another class of Amātyas who served as executive officers (Karma Sachivas). From them were chosen governors,[10] Treasurers,[11] Superintendents [12] and Secretaries [13] as in the days of Megasthenes.

Among treasury officials mention is made of the Gaṁjavara,[14] and the Bhāṇḍāgārika [15] who was one of the

1 Ins., 1190-93.
2 Ins., 271, Kaut. II, 10.
3 1124, 1146.
4 1328, *cf.* Majumdar's List of Kharoshṭhī Ins. No. 36. For the duties of a Daṇḍanāyaka, *cf.* IA., 4, 106, 275n ; 5, 49.
5 Kaut., Bk. X, Ch. 1, 2, 5.
6 Lüders' Ins. 1200 ; Ep. Ind., XIV, 155 ; *cf.* Manu, VII, 190.
7 Lüders, 1200.
8 Lüders, 381, 728.
9 Lüders, 1200.
10 Lüders, Ins. 965.
11 1141.
12 1186.
13 1125.
14 Lüders, 82. Note the employment of a Brāhmaṇa treasurer by a Scythian ruler.
15 Lüders, 1141.

principal ministers of state (Rājāmātya). But we have no epigraphic reference to the Sannidhātṛi or the Samāhartṛi till the days of the Somavamśi kings of Kosala. The main heads of revenue received into the Bhāṇḍāgāra or Kośa were, as enumerated in the Junāgaḍh Inscription, Bali, Śulka and Bhāga. These sufficed to fill the exchequer of a benevolent prince like Rudradāman with kanaka, rajata, vajra, vaidurya ratna, etc. Rulers less scrupulous than the Mahākshatrapa doubtless oppressed the people with arbitrary imposts (kara-vishṭi-praṇaya-kriyābhiḥ). Besides the Bhāṇḍāgāra whose existence is implied by Lüders' Ins. No. 1141, we have reference to the store-house, Koshṭhāgāra (in Ins. No. 937), which is described in Book II, Chapter 15, of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. The inscriptions afford us glimpses of the way in which the revenue was spent. The attempts to provide for "pānîya" are specially noteworthy. The Junāgaḍh Inscription tells us how "by the expenditure of a vast amount of money from his own treasury" a great Scythian ruler and his amātya restored the Sudarśana lake. References to the construction or repair of Pushkarinîs, udapānas, hradas or taḍāgas are fairly common. Lüders' Ins. No. 1137 makes mention of makers of hydraulic engines (Audayantrika), while another epigraph[1] refers to a royal official called Pānîya gharika or superintendent of water houses. Inscription No. 1186, after recording the gift of a taḍāga, a nāga and a vihāra, refers to the Amātya Skandasvāti who was the Karmāntika (superintendent of the work), an official designation known to the Arthaśāstra (Bk. I, Ch. 12).

In the department of Foreign Affairs we have the Dūta, but we do not as yet hear of dignitaries like the Sāmdhivigrahika and Kumārāmātya who figure so prominently in inscriptions of the Gupta and Post-Gupta periods.

[1] Lüders, 1279.

Inscriptions refer to officials like the Mahāsāmiyas who preserved records, and others whose exact functions and status are nowhere indicated. Amongst these may be mentioned the Abhyamtaropasthāyaka, Māḍabika, Tūthika and Neyika.

The big empires of North-Western India were spilt up into vast satrapies ruled by Mahākshatrapas and Kshatrapas. These satrapies as well as the kingdoms outside the limits of the Scythian Empire, were divided into districts called *Rāshṭra, Āhāra, Janapada, Deśa or Vishaya*. We do not as yet hear of the organisation into *Bhuktis* so widely prevalent in Post-Scythian times. Rāshṭra, Āhāra (or Hāra) and Janapada seem to have been synonymous terms, as is proved by the case of Sātahani-raṭṭha (rāshṭra) or Sātavāhani-hāra which is styled a *janapada* in the Myakadoni Inscription. The chief officer in a Rāshṭra or Āhāra was the Rāshṭrapati, Rāshṭrika (Raṭhika) or Amātya. The Amātya Suviśākha, for instance, governed Surāshṭra under the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman. The Amātyas Vishṇupālita, Śyāmaka, and Śiva-skanda-datta successively governed the āhāra or district of Govardhana (Nāsik) in the time of Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi and Pulumāyi, while the neighbouring āhāra of Māmālā (Poona District) was under an Amātya whose name ended in—Gupta. In the Far South the chief officer of the Āhāra seems to have been called 'Vyāpṛita.'[1] The Janapadas, particularly those on vulnerable frontiers, were sometimes placed under the charge of military governors (strategos, Mahāsenāpati, etc.). The *Janapada* of Śātavāhani-hāra was, for instance, under the Mahāsenāpati Skandanāga (of the Myakadoni Inscription), and portions of the Indian borderland were governed by a line of Strategoi (Aspavarman, Sasa) under Azes and Gondophernes.

[1] Lüders, 1327, 1328.

Deśa, too, is often used as a synonym of Rāshṭra or Janapada. It was under a Deśādhikṛita (the Deshmukh of mediæval times), an officer mentioned in the Hirahadagalli grant of Śiva-skanda-varman. The next smaller unit was apparently the Vishaya governed by the Vishayapati.[1] But sometimes even 'Vishaya' was used as a synonym of Deśa or Rāshṭra, and there were cases in the Post-Gupta period of the use of the term to designate a larger area than a Rāshṭra.[2]

The smallest administrative units were the villages called Grāma or Grāmāhāra,[3] and the towns called Nigama. The affairs of a Grāma were controlled by officers styled Grāmeyika Āyutta[4] who were apparently headed by the Grāmaṇî,[5] Grāmika,[6] Grāmabhojaka[7] or (Grāma) Mahattaraka. Lüders' (Mathurā) Inscription, No. 48, gives the names of two such Grāmikas, Jayadeva and Jayanāga. In Southern India we have the curious title "Muluḍa" applied to the head of a village.[8] The chief men of the Nigamas were the Gahapatis, the counterparts of the Grāmavṛiddhas of villages. In Lüders' Inscription No. 1153 we have evidence of the corporate activity of a dhamma-nigama headed by the Gahapati. The Grāma and Nigama organisation was the most durable part of the Ancient Indian system of government, and centuries of Scythian rule could not wipe it out of existence. The village and the Nigama were also the nurseries of those ideas of associate life which found

1 929*n* (Lüders).
2 Fleet, CII, 32n.
3 Ins. No. 1195.
4 1327.
5 1333.
6 48,69a.
7 1200.
8 Ins. 1194. *Cf.* Muruṇḍa = lord (Śaka). For the presence of Śakas in the far south, see Ep. Ind., XX, 37.

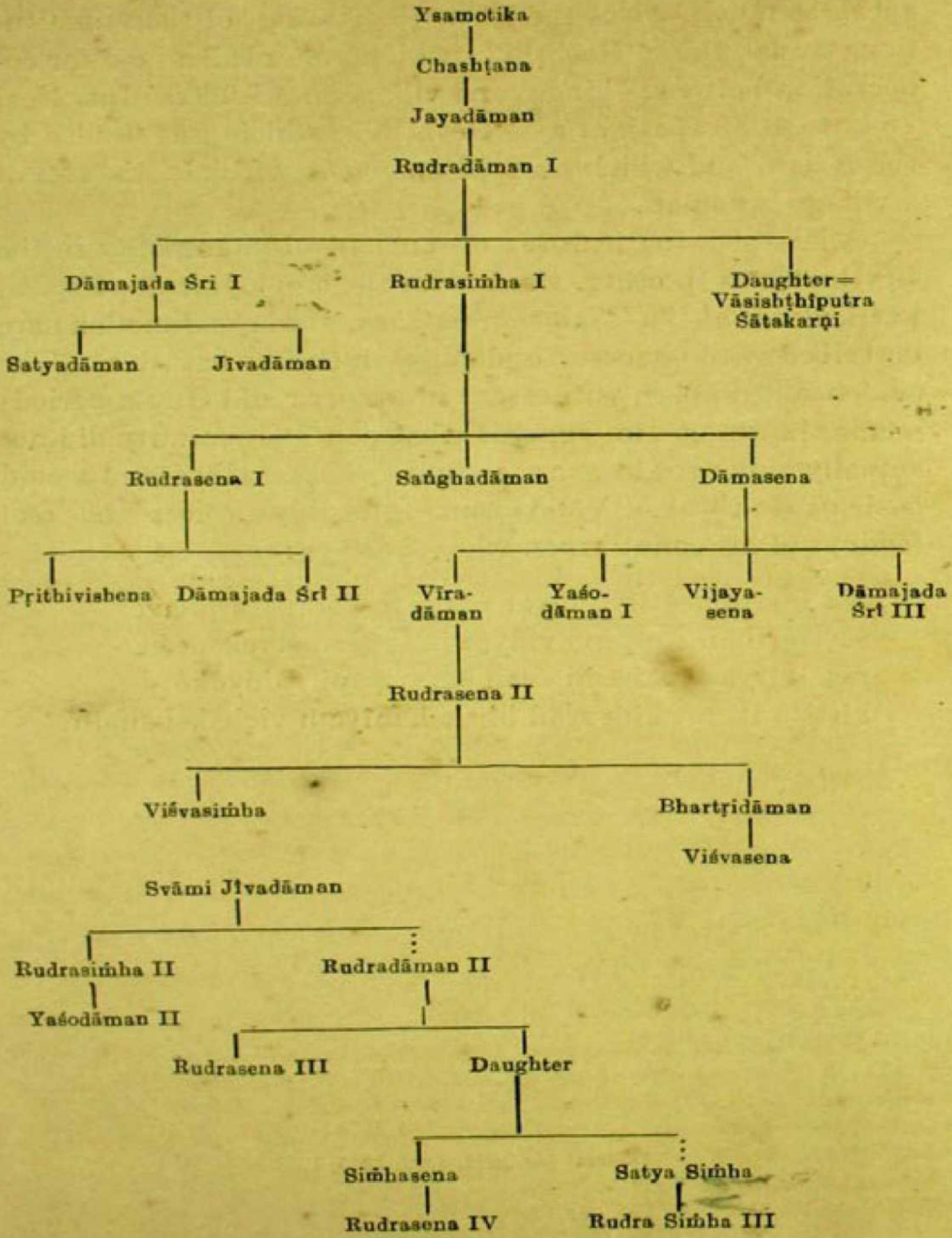
vent in the organisation of Goshṭhis,[1] Nikāyas,[2] Parishads,[3] Saṁghas,[4] etc., about which the Inscriptions of the period speak so much. Not the least interesting of these institutions was the "Goshṭhi" which afforded a field for co-operation between kings and villagers. Lüders' Ins. Nos. 1332 to 1338 speak of a "Goshṭhi" which was headed by the Rājan, and which counted among its officials the son of a village headman.

A less pleasing feature of ancient Indian polity in the Scythian, as in other, times was the employment of spies, particularly of the "*Saṁcharaṁtakas,*" whose functions are described with gruesome details in the Arthaśāstra. The evidence of foreign witnesses in Maurya and Gupta periods seems, however, to suggest that political morality did not actually sink so low as a study of the Arthaśāstra would lead us to think. Vātsyāyana probably voices the real feelings of his countrymen when he says :

> Na śāstramastîtye tāvat prayoge kāranaṁ bhavet
> śāstrārthān vyāpino vidyāt prayogāṁstvekadeśikān
> rasa-vîrya vipākā hi śvamāṁsasyāpi vaidyake
> kîrtitā iti tat kiṁ syād bhakshanîyaṁ vichakshanaiḥ.

[1] Lüders' Ins., 273, 1332, 1335, 1338.
[2] 1133.
[3] 125, 925.
[4] 5, 1137.

Genealogical Table of the Śakas of Ujjain



The Gupta Empire: the Rise of the Gupta Power.

Imāṁ sāgaraparyantāṁ Himavad-Vindhya-kuṇḍalām
mahīṁ ekātapatrāṅkāṁ Rājasiṁha! praśāstu naḥ
—Dūtavākyaṁ.

I. The Foundation of the Gupta Dynasty.

We have seen that the tide of Scythian conquest, which was rolled back for a time by the Śātavāhanas, was finally stemmed by the Gupta Emperors. It is interesting to note that there were many Guptas among the officials of the Śātavāhana conquerors of the Śakas, *e.g.*, Śiva Gupta of the Nāsik Inscription of the year 18, —Gupta of the Karle inscription, and Śiva-skanda Gupta of the same inscription. It is difficult to say whether there was any connection between these Guptas and the Imperial Gupta family of Northern India, one of whom actually bore the name of Skanda Gupta.[1]

Scions of the Gupta family are not unoften mentioned in old Brāhmî Inscriptions. The Ichchhāwar (Bāndā district) Buddhist Statuette Inscription[2] mentions the benefaction of Mahādevî, queen of Śrî Hariḍāsa, sprung from the Gupta race (Gupta vaṁśodita). A Bharhut Buddhist Pillar Inscription[3] of the Śuṅga period refers to a "Gauptî" as the queen of Rājan Visadeva, and the grandmother of Dhanabhūti, probably a feudatory of the Śuṅgas.

[1] In the *Modern Review* (November), 1929, p. 499 f., it has been suggested that the Guptas are of *Kāraskara* origin. But the evidence is hardly conclusive. The identification of Chaṇḍasena of the *Kaumudi-mahotsava* (adopted son of Sundaravarman), whose family was uprooted (p. 500) with Chandra Gupta I, son of Ghaṭotkacha whose dynasty ruled gloriously for centuries, is clearly untenable.

[2] Lüders, No. 11.

[3] Lüders, No. 687.

Traces of Gupta rule in Magadha are found as early as the second century A.D. I-Tsing, a Chinese pilgrim, who travelled in India in the seventh century A.D., mentions a Mahārāja **Śrī Gupta** who built a temple near Mṛigaśikhāvana. I-Tsing's date would place him about A.D. 175.[1] Allan rejects the date, and identifies Śrî Gupta with Gupta the great-grandfather of Samudra Gupta, on the ground that it is unlikely that we should have two different rulers in the same territory, of the same name, within a brief period. But have we not two Chandra Guptas and two Kumāra Guptas within brief periods? There is no cogent reason for identifying Śrî Gupta of A.D. 175 with Samudra Gupta's great-grandfather who must have flourished about a century later.

The names of Śrî Gupta's immediate successors are not known. The earliest name of the Gupta family of Magadha which appears in inscriptions is that of Mahārāja **Gupta** who was succeeded by his son Mahārāja **Ghaṭoṭkacha.**

[1] Allan, Gupta Coins, Introduction, p. xv. *Cf.* Ind. Ant., X (1881), 110.

II. Chandra Gupta I.

The first independent sovereign (Mahārājādhirāja)[1] of the line was Chandra Gupta I, son of Ghaṭotkacha, who probably ascended the throne in 320 A. D., the initial date of the Gupta Era. Like his great fore-runner Bimbisāra he strengthened his position by a matrimonial alliance with the Lichchhavis of Vaiśâli(?),[2] and laid the foundations of the Second Magadhan Empire. The union of Chandra Gupta I with the Lichchhavi family is commemorated by a series of coins having on the obverse standing figures of Chandra Gupta and his queen, the Lichchhavi princess Kumāradevî, and on the reverse a figure of Lakshmî with the legend "Lichchhavayaḥ" probably signifying that the prosperity of Chandra Gupta was due to his Lichchhavi alliance. Smith suggests that the Lichchhavis were ruling in Pāṭaliputra as tributaries or feudatories of the Kushāns and that through his marriage Chandra Gupta succeeded to the power of his wife's relatives. But Allan points out that Pāṭaliputra was in the possession of the Guptas even in Śrî Gupta's time.[3]

From our knowledge of Samudra Gupta's conquests it may be deduced that his father's rule was confined to Magadha and the adjoining territories. In the opinion of Allan the Purāṇic verses defining the Gupta dominions refer to his reign :

Anu-Gaṅgā Prayāgaṁcha Śāketam Magadhāṁstathā
Etān janapadān sarvān bhokshyante Guptavaṁśajāḥ.

[1] In the Riddhapur plates (JASB., 1924, 58), however, Chandra Gupta I and even Samudra Gupta are called (carelessly) simply Mahārājas.

[2] Some scholars think that Chandra Gupta I's alliance was with the ruling family of Nepāl (JRAS., 1889, p. 55) or of Pāṭaliputra (JRAS., 1893, p. 81).

[3] Kielhorn's North Indian Inscription No. 541, however, suggests some connection between the Lichchhavis and Pushpapura (Pāṭaliputra).

It will be seen that Vaiśālī is not included in this list of Gupta possessions. Therefore, we cannot concur in Allan's view that Vaiśālī was one of Chandra Gupta's earliest conquests. Nor does Vaiśālī occur in the list of Samudra Gupta's acqtuisitions. It first appears as a Gupta possession in the time of Chandra Gupta II, and constituted a Viceroyalty under an imperial Prince.

III. Samudra Gupta Parākramāṅka.[1]

Chandra Gupta I was succeeded by his son Samudra Gupta. It is clear from the Allahabad Praśasti and from the epithet "tatparigrihîta" applied to Samudra Gupta in other inscriptions that the prince was selected from among his sons by Chandra Gupta I as best fitted to succeed him. The new monarch seems also to have been known as Kācha.[2]

It was the aim of Samudra Gupta to bring about the political unification of India and make himself an Ekarāṭ like Mahāpadma. But his only permanent annexation was that of portions of Āryāvarta. Following his "Sarva-kshatrāntaka" predecessor, this *Sarva-rājochchhettā* uprooted Rudradeva, Matila, Nāgadatta, Chandra-varman, Gaṇapati Nāga, Nāgasena, Achyuta, Nandi, Balavarman, and many other kings of Āryāvarta,[3]

[1] The titles Parākrama and Parākramāṅka are found on coins (Allan, Catalogue, p. li.) and in the Allahabad Praśasti (CII., p. 6).

[2] The epithet Sarva-Rājochchhettā found on Kācha's coins shows that he was in all probability identical with Samudra Gupta. *Cf.* Smith, Catalogue, 96. For another view see Smith, JRAS., 1897, 19; Rapson, JRAS., 1893, 31; Heras, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. IX., p. 88f. To us it is unthinkable that the style "uprooter of all kings" could have been assumed by a Gupta monarch other than the one who is actually credited with that achievement by a contemporary inscription, before the events presupposed by the expression had actually happened. In the Poona plates we find the epithet applied to Chandra Gupta II, son of Samudra Gupta, along with many other designations of the latter. But it should be remembered that the plates in question are not official records of the Guptas themselves. In no official epigraph of the Imperial Guptas is the style "Sarva-rāja-chchhettā" applied to any other king except Samudra Gupta. The application of the term to Chandra Gupta II in the Poona plates is due to the same carelessness which led the writer to describe Chandra Gupta I as a mere *Mahārāja* (and not *Mahārājādhirāja*). A comparison of the Āmgachhi record with the Bāṇagaḍa Inscription shows that writers of *Praśastis* not unoften carelessly applied to a later king eulogies really pertaining to a preceding ruler.

[3] Father Heras thinks (Ann. Bhand. Ins., IX. p. 88) that Samudra Gupta undertook two campaigns in Āryāvarta. But his theory involves the assumption that Matila and Nāgasena were "violently exterminated" in the second campaign after having been "uprooted" in the first. To obviate the difficulty he takes "uprooted" to mean "defeated." This is, to say the least, unconvincing.

captured the scion of the family of Kota and made all kings of the forest countries (āṭavika-rāja) his servants. Rudradeva has been identified by Dikshit with Rudrasena Vākāṭaka.[1] But the Vākāṭakas can hardly be regarded as rulers of Āryāvarta, and they were far from being uprooted in the time of Samudra Gupta.[1] Matila has been identified with a person named Mattila mentioned in a seal found in Bulandshahr. The absence of any honorific title on the seal leads Allan to suggest that it was a private one. But we have already come across many instances of princes being mentioned without any honorific. Chandravarman has been identified with the king of the same name mentioned in the Susunia (Bankura District) inscription, who was the ruler of Pokharaṇa or Pushkaraṇa. Some scholars identify his place with Pokarṇā in Mārwār, and further equate Siddhavarman, the name of the father of Chandravarman, with that of Simhavarman of the Mandasor family. But there is very little to be said in support of this conjecture. Pokharana is really a village on the Dāmodara river in the Bankura District, some 25 miles east of Susunia Hill.[2]

Ganapati Nāga, Nāgasena and Nandi seem to have been Nāga princes. That Ganapati Nāga was a Nāga prince is

[1] *See* IHQ., I, 2, 254.

[2] *Cf.* S. K. Chatterji, "The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language," II, 1061; IHQ., I, 2, 255. Pandit H. P. Shastri believes that this petty king is identical also with the mighty sovereign Chandra of the Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription who "in battle in the Vaṅga countries turned back with his breast the enemies who uniting together came against him and by whom having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the Indus the Vāhlikas were conquered." It should, however, be noted that the Purāṇas represent the Nāgas as ruling in the Jumna valley and Central India in the fourth century A.D. We learn from the Vishṇu Purāṇa that Nāga dynasties ruled at Padmāvatī and Mathurā. A Nāga line probably ruled also at Vidiśā (Pargiter, Kali Age, p. 49). Two kings named Sa[illegible]-Chandra and Chandrāṃśa, "the second Nakhavant," are mentioned among the post-Andhran kings of Nāga lineage. One of these, preferably the latter, may have been the Chandra of the Meharauli Inscription. The Vāhlikas beyond "the seven mouths of the Indus" are apparently the Bactrians occupying the country of Arachosia in the time of the geographer Ptolemy (Ind. Ant., 1864, p. 103).

evident. This ruler is also known from coins found at Narwar and Besnagar.[1] Nāgasena, scion of the house of Padmāvatī[2] (near Narwar on the Sindh River between Gwalior and Jhansi) is mentioned in the Harsha-charita (Nāga-kula-janmanaḥ sārikāśrāvita mantrāsya āsīdnāśo Nāgasenasya Padmāvatyām). Nandi was also probably a Nāga prince. In the Purāṇas Śiśu Nandi and Nandiyaśas are connected with the Nāga family of Central India. We know also the name of a Nāga prince named Śivanandi.[3] Achyuta was probably a king of Ahichchhatrā, the modern Rāmnagar in the Bareilly District. To him has been attributed the small copper coin bearing the syllables 'achyu' found at Ahichchhatrā.[4] As to the Kota-kula Rapson[5] draws our attention to certain coins bearing the inscription *Kota*. These resemble the "Śruta coins" attributed to a ruler of Śrāvastī and should apparently be referred to that region.

The conquered territories were constituted as *Vishayas* or Imperial sub-provinces. Two of these vishayas are known from later inscriptions, namely, Antarvedī and Arikiṇa. It is significant that Nāgas (*e.g.*, the Vishayapati Śarvanāga) figure as rulers of Antarvedī (the Gangetic Doāb) as late as the time of Skanda Gupta.

The annexation of the northern kingdoms named above was not the only achievement of Samudra Gupta. He made the rulers of the Āṭavika rājyas his servants, led an expedition to the south, and made his power felt by the potentates of the Eastern Deccan. We perceive, however, a

[1] IHQ., I, 2, 255.

[2] Padmāvatī= "Padam Pawāyā (25 miles n. e. of Narwar) in the apex of the confluence of the Sindhu and Pārā. Nāga coins have been found here; also a Palm leaf capital with an inscription of the first and second century B.C." EHI[4], p. 800.

[3] Dubreuil, Ancient History of the Deccan, p. 31.

[4] Allan, Gupta Coins, xxii.

[5] JRAS., 1898, 149 f. A Kota tribe is said to exist in the Nilgiris (Ind. Ant., III. 36, 96, 205; JRAS., 1897, 863).

difference between his northern and southern campaigns. In the north he played the part of a "digvijayî" of the Early Magadhan type.[1] But in the south he followed the Epic and Kauṭilyan ideal of a "dharmavijayî," *i.e.*, he defeated the kings but did not annex their territory.

The **Āṭavika** rājyas undoubtedly included the realm of Ālavaka (Ghāzipur) as well as the Forest kingdoms connected with Ḍabhālā, *i.e.*, the Jabbalpur region.[2] The conquest of this region by Samudra Gupta is proved also by his Eraṇ inscription. One of the Āṭavika states was apparently Koṭāṭavi mentioned in the commentary on the *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākara Nandi (p. 36). In Ep. Ind., VII, p. 126, we have a reference to a place called Vaṭāṭavi, while Lüder's List (No. 1195) mentions Sahalâṭavi.

The **Kings of Dakshiṇāpatha** who came into conflict with the great Gupta were Mahendra of Kosala, Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, Maṇṭarāja of Kaurāla, Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra, a chieftain of Pishṭapura whose precise name is uncertain,[3] Damana of Eraṇḍapalla, Vishṇugopa of Kāñchî, Nîlarāja of Avamukta, Hastivarman of Veṅgî, Ugrasena of Palakka, Kubera of Devarāshṭra, Dhanañjaya of Kusthalapura and others.

Kosala is South Kosala which comprised the modern Bilāspūr, Raipur and Sambalpur districts, and occasionally even a part of Gañjām.[4] Its capital was Śrîpura, the

[1] This kind of Vijaya is termed Asura-vijaya in the Arthaśāstra (p. 382). The name may have been derived from the Assyrians, the ruthlessness of whose conquests is well-known. Conquest of this type is first met with in India in the sixth century B.C. (*cf.* Ajātaśatru's conquest of the Lichchhavis and Viḍūḍabha's conquest of the Śākyas) when Persia served as a link between Assyria and India.

[2] Fleet, CII., p. 114; Ep. Ind., VIII, 284-287.

[3] For the various interpretations of the passage "Paishṭapuraka-Mahendragiri Kauṭṭūraka Svāmidatta" see Fleet, CII., Vol. 3, p. 7; JRAS, 1897, pp. 420, 868-870; IHQ., 1925, 252; Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, 224. It is not improbable that Mahendragiri in this passage is a personal name. *Cf.* the name Kumāra-giri given to a chief of Koṇḍaviḍu whose territories included a portion at least of the Godāvarī district (Kielhorn, S. Ins., 597).

[4] Kuṇgoḍa, Ep. Ind., VI, 14.

modern Sirpur, about forty miles east by north from Rāipur.[1] Mahākāntāra is apparently a wild tract of Central India probably identical with the Jaso State.[2] Kaurāla, probably a variant of Kerala,[3] is apparently the district of which the capital in later times was Yayātinagarī on the Mahānadī (near Sonpur).[4] The poet Dhoyi, in his Pavana-dūtam, connects the Keralīs with Yayātinagarī :

Līlāṁ netuṁ nayana-padavīṁ Keralīnām rateśchet
Gachchheḥ khyātām jagati nagarīm ākhyayātām Yayāteḥ.

Dr. Barnett, however,[5] suggests the identification of Kaurāla with one of the villages that now bear the name Kōrāḍa.

Koṭṭūra has been identified with Kothoor, 12 miles south-east of Mahendragiri in Gañjām.[6] Pishṭapura is Piṭhāpuram in the Godāvarī district. Eraṇḍapalla is identified by Fleet with Eraṇḍol in Khandesh, and by Dubreuil with Erandapali "a town probably near Chicacole" in the Gañjām district.[7] But G. Ramdas[8] suggests the identification of Eraṇḍapalla with Yeṇḍipalli in Vizagapatam or Yeḍapilli in Ellore Tāluk. Kāñchī is Conjeeveram near Madras. Avamukta cannot be satisfactorily identified. But the name of its king Nīlarāja reminds us of Nīlapalli, "an old seaport near Yanam," in the Godāvarī district.[9] Veṅgī has been identified with Vegi or Pedda-Vegi, 7 miles north of Ellore (Kṛishṇā District). Its King Hastivarman has been identified by Hultzsch with Attivarman of the Pallava(?)

[1] Fleet, CII., p. 293.

[2] G. Ramdas (IHQ., I. 4, 684) identifies Mahākāntāra with the 'Jhād-khand' Agency tracts of Gañjām and Vizagapatam.

[3] Fleet, CII., p. 10.

[4] Ep. Ind., XI, p. 189. Kaurāla cannot be Kolleru or Colair which must have been included within the territory of Hastivarman of Veṅgī.

[5] There is another Koṭṭura 'at the foot of the Hills' in the Vizagapatam district (vide, Dist. Gaz., I, 137). See also Koṭṭūru (IA., 4, 329).

[6] Dubreuil, AHD., pp. 58-60.

[7] IHQ., I. 4, p. 683.

[8] Gazetteer of the Godāvarī District, Vol. I, p. 213.

race.[1] Palakka is probably identical with Palakkada, the seat of a Pallava viceroyalty. G. Ramdas locates it in the Nellore District.[2] Devarāshṭra is the Yellamañchili tract in the Vizagapatam district.[3] Kusthalapura is, according to Dr. Barnett, probably Kuttalur, near Polur, in North Arcot.[4]

The capture and liberation of the southern kings, notably of the ruler of Kottūra near Mahendragiri, reminds us of the following lines of Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṁśa :—

Grihîta-pratimuktasya sa dharma-vijayî nṛipaḥ
Śriyaṁ Mahendra-nāthasya jahāra natu medinîṁ.

It is not a little surprising that the Allahabad Praśasti contains no clear reference to the **Vākāṭakas** who were now the predominant power in the region between Bundelkhand and Karṇāṭa. The earliest reference to the Vākāṭakas occurs in certain inscriptions of Amarāvatî.[5] The dynasty rose to power under Vindhyāśakti and his son Pravarasena I. Pravarasena appears to have been succeeded by his grandson Rudrasena I. Pṛithivisheṇa I, the son and successor of Rudrasena I, must have been a contemporary of Samudra Gupta inasmuch as his son Rudrasena II was a contemporary of Samudra Gupta's son Chandra Gupta II. Pṛithivisheṇa I's political influence extended from Nachnē-kî-talāî and Ganj in Bundelkhand[6] to the borders of Kuntala, *i.e.*, the Kanarese country. One of the Ajaṇṭā inscriptions credits him with having conquered the lord of Kuntala. The Nach-nē-kî-talāî and Ganj regions were ruled by his vassal

[1] IHQ., I, 2, p. 253; Ind. Ant., IX, 102. But Attivarman is actually described as born in the lineage of the great saint Ananda (Bomb. Gaz., I. ii. 384; Kielhorn, S. Ins., 1015; IA., IX, 102; ASI., 1924-25, p. 118). The name of Hastivarman is also found in a Śālaṅkāyana *Vaṁśāvali* (IHQ., 1937, 439.).

[2] IHQ., I, 2, 686.

[3] Dubreuil, AHD., p. 160; ASR., 1908-09, p. 123.

[4] Calc. Rev., 1924, p. 253n.

[5] Ep. Ind., XV, pp. 261, 267.

[6] Fleet, CII., p. 233; Ep. Ind., XVII, 12.

[7] Karṇāṭa, Ind. Ant., 1876, p. 318.

vyāghra-deva. Prof. Dubreuil, however, says that the Nāchnā and Ganj inscriptions, which mention Vyāghra, belong, not to Pṛithivisheṇa I, but to his great-great-grandson Pṛithivisheṇa II. This is improbable in view of the fact that from the time of Pṛithivisheṇa II's great-grandfather, if not from a period still earlier, down to at least A.D. 528, the princes of the region which intervenes between Nāchnā and Ganj and the proper Vākāṭaka territory, owned the sway of the Gupta empire. Now as Vyāghra of the Nāchnā and Ganj records acknowledges the supremacy of the Vākāṭaka Pṛithivishena, this Pṛithivisheṇa can only be Pṛithivisheṇa I, who ruled before the establishment of the Gupta supremacy in Central India by Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II (*cf.* the Eraṇ and Udayagiri Inscriptions), and not Pṛithivisheṇa II during whose rule the Guptas, and not the Vākāṭakas, were the acknowledged suzerains of the Central Provinces as we know from the records of the Parivrājaka Mahārājas.[1]

The absence of any clear reference to Pṛithivisheṇa I in Harisheṇa's Praśasti is explained by the fact that Samudra Gupta's operations were confined to the eastern part of Trans-Vindhyan India. There is no reliable evidence that the Gupta conqueror carried his arms to the central and western parts of the Deccan, *i.e.*, the territory ruled by Pṛithivisheṇa I himself. Prof. Dubreuil has shown that the identification of Kurārāshṭra with Mahārāshṭra and of Erandapalla with Erandol in Khandesh, is probably wrong.[2]

Though Samudra Gupta did not invade the Western Deccan it is clear from his Eraṇ Inscription that he did deprive the Vākāṭakas of their possessions in Central India. But these territories were not directly governed by the

[1] *Cf.* Modern Review, April, 1921, p. 475.
[2] *Cf.* Modern Review, 1921, p. 457.

Vākāṭaka monarch, but were under a vassal prince. In the time of Prithivisheṇa this prince was Vyāghra. We should naturally expect a conflict between the Vākāṭaka feudatory and the Gupta conqueror. Curiously enough the Allahabad Praśasti refers to Samudra Gupta's victory over Vyāghra-rāja of Mahākāntāra. It is probable that this Vyāghra-rāja is identical with the Vyāghra of the Nāchnā inscription who was the Central Indian feudatory of Prithivisheṇa. As a result of Samudra Gupta's victory the Guptas succeeded the Vākāṭakas as the paramount power of Central India. Henceforth the Vākāṭakas appear as a purely southern power.

The victorious career of Samudra Gupta must have produced a deep impression on the **pratyanta** nṛipatis or frontier kings of North-East India and the Himālayan region, and the tribal states of the Pañjāb, Western India and Mālwa, who are said to have gratified his imperious commands (Prachaṇḍa Śāsana) "by giving all kinds of taxes, obeying his orders and coming to perform obeisance." The most important among the North-East Indian frontier kingdoms which submitted to the mighty Gupta Emperor were Samataṭa (part of East Bengal bordering on the sea, having its capital probably at Karmmānta or Bad-Kāmta near Comilla),[1] Ḍavāka (not satisfactorily identified)[2] and Kāmarūpa (in Assam); we learn from the Dāmodarpur plates that Puṇḍravardhana or North Bengal formed an integral part of the Gupta Empire and was governed by a line of Uparika Mahārājas as vassals of the Gupta Emperor. The identification of Ḍavāka with certain districts of North Bengal is, therefore, wrong. The Northern Pratyantas were Nepāl and Kartṛipura. The latter principality comprised probably Katarpur in the Jalandhar district, and

[1] Bhattasali, Iconography, p. 41.

[2] *Cf.* Dekaka (Dacca), Hoyland, The Empire of the Great Mogol, 14.

the territory of the Katur, Kâturia or Katyur rājas of Kumaun, Garhwal and Rohilkhand.[1]

The **tribal states** which paid homage were situated on the western and south-western fringe of Āryāvarta proper. Among these the most important were the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Madrakas, Ābhīras, Prārjunas, Sanakānîkas, Kākas and Kharaparikas.

The Mālavas were in the Pañjāb in the time of Alexander. They were probably in Rājaputāna[2] when they came into conflict with Ushavadāta. Their exact location in the time of Samudra Gupta cannot be determined.[3] In the time of Samudra Gupta's successors they were probably connected with the Mandasor region. We find princes of Mandasor using the reckoning (commencing B.C. 58) handed down traditionally by the Mālava-gaṇa (Mālava-gaṇ-āmnāta).

The Ārjunāyanas and the Yaudheyas are placed in the northern division of India by the author of the Bṛihat-Saṁhitā. They may have been connected with the Pandoouoi or Pāṇḍava tribe mentioned by Ptolemy as settled in the Pañjāb.[4] The connection of the Ārjunāyanas with the Pāṇḍava Arjuna is apparent.[5] Yaudheya appears as the name of a son of Yudhishṭhira in the Mahābhārata.[6] The Harivaṁśa, a later authority, connects the Yaudheyas with Uśīnara.[7] A clue to the locality of this tribe is given by the Bijayagaḍh inscription.[8] The hill fort of Bijayagaḍh lies about two miles to the south-west of

1 EHI., 285n. JRAS., 1898, 198.

2 *Cf.* Smith, Catalogue, 161.

3 Mālava coins have been found in vast numbers at Nāgar in the Jaipur State (JRAS., 1897, 883).

4 Ind. Ant., XIII, 331, 349.

5 Their coins are found in the Mathurā region (Smith, Catalogue, 160).

6 Ādi, 95, 76.

7 Pargiter, Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, p. 380.

8 Fleet, CII., p. 251. Yaudheya votive tablets have been found in the Ludhiana District (JRAS., 1897, 887).

Byānā in the Bharatpur state of Rājaputāna. According to Dr. V. Smith[1] the Yaudheyas occupied the tract still known as Johiya-bār along both banks of the Sutlej on the border of the Bahāwalpur state.

The Madrakas had their capital at Śākala or Siālkoṭ in the Pañjāb. The Ābhīras occupied the tract in western Rājaputāna, near Vinaśana[2] in the district called Abiria by the Periplus.[3] We have already seen that an Ābhīra became Mahākshatrapa of western India and probably supplanted the Śātavāhanas in a part of Mahārāshṭra in the second or third century A.D. A section of the tribe apparently settled in Central India and gave their name to the Ābirwār country between Jhansi and Bhilsa.[4] The territories of the Prārjunas, Sanakānīkas, Kākas and Kharaparikas lay probably in Central India. The Prārjunakas are mentioned in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (p. 194) and are located by Smith[5] in the Narsinhapur District of C. P. A clue to the locality of the Sanakānikas is given by one of the Udayagiri inscriptions of Chandra Gupta II. [illegible] Kākas and mention in Mbh. VI. 9·64—*Ṛishikā Vi[illegible]ih Kākās Taṅgaṇā-Parataṅgaṇā*. In the Bombay Gazetteer Kāka is identified with Kākūpur near Bithur. Smith suggests that the name may be locally associated with Kākanāda (Sāñchī). The Kharaparikas may have occupied the Damoh District of C.P.[6]

The rise of a new indigenous imperial power could not be a matter of indifference to the foreign potentates of the Uttarāpatha, Mālwa and Surāshṭra who hastened to buy peace by acts of homage, such as self-sacrifice, the bringing of gifts of maidens, the soliciting of charters

[1] JRAS., 1897, p. 30.
[2] Śūdrābhirān prati dveshād yatro nashṭā Sarasvati, Mbh., IX, 37.1.
[3] *Cf.* Ind. Ant., III. 226f.
[4] JRAS., 1897, 891.
[5] JRAS., 1897, p. 892.
[6] Bhandarkar, IHQ., 1925, 258 ; Ep. Ind., XII, 46.

confirming in the enjoyment of their territories, bearing the Garuda seal." The foreign powers who thus established diplomatic relations with Samudra Gupta were the Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi and the Śaka Muruṇḍas as well as the people of Simhala and all other dwellers in islands.[1]

The Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi was apparently the Kushān ruler of the north-west, a descendant of the Devaputra Kanishka.[1] The Śaka Muruṇḍas apparently included the Scythian chieftains of Surāshṭra and Central India, the representatives of a power which once dominated even the Ganges valley. Sten Konow tells us that Muruṇḍa is a Śaka word meaning lord, Sanskrit Svāmin. The epithet Svāmin was used by the Kshatrapas of Surāshṭra and Ujjain. A Sāñchī inscription recently discovered by Marshall discloses the existence of another Śaka principality which was ruled about A.D. 319 by the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Śrīdharavarman.[2] A Muruṇḍa Svāminī is mentioned in a Khoh Inscription (Central India). The existence of a Muruṇḍa power in the Ganges valley in the second century A.D. is vouched for by Ptolemy.[3]

Samudra Gupta's Ceylonese contemporary was Meghavarṇa. A Chinese historian relates that Meg[1] varṇa sent an embassy with gifts to Samudra Gupta and obtained his permission to erect a splendid monastery to the north of the holy tree at Bodh Gayā for the use of pilgrims from the Island.

Allan thinks that it was at the conclusion of his campaigns that the Gupta conqueror celebrated the horse-sacrifice[4] which, we are told in the inscriptions of his

[1] Smith (JRAS., 1897, 32) identified him with Grumbates.

[2] Ep. Ind., XVI, p. 232; JRAS., 1923, 337 ff.

[3] Ind. Ant., 1884, 377.

[4] *Cf.* Divekar, Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, VII, pp. 164-65, "Allahabad Praśasti and Aśvamedha."

successors, had long been in abeyance. But it should be noted that the Aśvamedha was celebrated by several kings during the interval which elapsed from the time of Pushyamitra to that of Samudra Gupta, *e.g.*, Sātakarṇi, the husband of Nāyanikā, Vāsiṭhiputa Siri-Chāmtamūla, Pravarasena I Vākāṭaka, great grandfather of Pṛithivisheṇa I, the contemporary of Samudra Gupta, the Pallava Siva-skanda-varman of the Prākrit Hirahadagalli record, and the Nāga kings of the house of Bhāraśiva. It is probable, however, that the court poets of the Guptas knew little about these monarchs. After the horse sacrifice Samudra Gupta apparently took the title of Aśva-medha-parākramaḥ.

If Harishena, the writer of the Allahabad Praśasti, is to be believed, the great Gupta was a man of versatile genius. "He put to shame the preceptor of the lord of Gods and Tumburu and Nārada and others by his sharp and polished intellect and choral skill and musical accomplishments. He established his title of Kavirāja by various poetical compositions."[1] Unfortunately none of these compositions have survived. But the testimony of Harishena to his musical abilities finds corroboration in the lyrist type of his coins.

The attribution of the coins bearing the name Kācha to Samudra Gupta may be accepted. But the emperor's identification with Dharmāditya of a Faridpur grant is clearly wrong. The titles used by this monarch were Apratiratha, Kṛitānta-paraśu, Sarva-rāj-ochchhettā,[2] Vyāghra-parākrama, Aśva-medha-parākrama, and Parākramāṅka but not Dharmāditya.

[1] According to the Kāvya Mimāṁsā (GOS., pp. xvi, 19) a "Kavirāja is one stage further than a Mahākavi, and is defined as one who is unrestrained in various languages, various sorts of poetical compositions and various sentiments."

For the intellectual activities of the Gupta Age, see Bhandarkar, "A Peep into the Early History of India," pp. 61-74.

[2] *Cf.* the epithet "Sarva-kshattrāntaka" applied to his great fore-runner Mahāpadma Nanda.

We possess no dated documents for Samudra Gupta's reign. The Gayā grant professes to be dated in the year 9, but no reliance can be placed on it and the reading of the numeral is uncertain. Smith's date (330-375) for Samudra Gupta is conjectural. As the earliest known date of Chandra Gupta II is A.D. 401,[1] it is not improbable that his father and predecessor died sometime after A.D. 375.

---

[1] An inscription of Chandra Gupta II dated A.D. 380 is said to have been discovered recently in the Mathurā district (Amrita Bāzār Patrikā, 1. 3. 29).

The Gupta Empire—(*continued*) : The Age of the Vikramādityas.

Kāmaṁ nṛipāḥ santu sahasraśo' nye
rājanvatîmāhuranena bhūmim
nakshatra-tārā-graha saṅkulâpi
jyotishmatî Chandramasaiva rātriḥ
—*Raghuvaṁśam.*

I. Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya.

Samudra Gupta was succeeded by his son Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya (also called Siṁha Chandra and Siṁha Vikrama), born of queen Dattadevî. Chandra Gupta was chosen out of many sons by his father as the best fitted to succeed him.[1] Another name of the new monarch disclosed by certain Vākāṭaka inscriptions, the Archer type of coins and the Sāñchī inscription of A.D. 412, was Deva Gupta, Deva-śrî or Deva-rāja.[2]

For his reign we possess a number of dated inscriptions so that its limits may be defined with more accuracy than those of his predecessors. His accession should be placed before A.D. 401-02, and his death in or about A.D. 413-14.

The most important external events of the reign were the Emperor's matrimonial alliance with the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II, son of Pṛithivisheṇa I, and the

[1] The theory of Mr. Altekar, JBORS., XIV, pp. 223-253; XV, pt. I-II, p. 134 f., that a king named Rāma (Śarma?) Gupta intervened between Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II is unsupported by any contemporary epigraphic evidence. The tradition that a Gupta king killed his brother and took his wife and crown, dates only from the ninth century. The literary evidence on the point is discrepant and hardly conclusive.

[2] *Cf.* Bhandarkar, Ind. Ant., 1913, p. 160.

war with the Śaka Satraps which added Mālwa and Surāshṭra to the Gupta dominions.

Matrimonial alliances occupy a prominent place in the foreign policy of the Guptas. The Lichchhavi alliance had strengthened their position in Bihār. After the conquest of the upper provinces they sought alliances with other ruling families whose help was needed to consolidate the Gupta power in the newly acquired territory and prepare the ground for fresh conquests. Thus Chandra Gupta II married Kuberanāgā, a princess of Nāga lineage,[1] and had by her a daughter named Prabhāvatī, whom he gave in marriage to Rudrasena II, the Vākāṭaka king of the Central Deccan. According to Dr. Smith[2] "the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja occupied a geographical position in which he could be of much service or disservice to the northern invader of the dominions of the Śaka Satraps of Gujrāṭ and Surāshṭra. Chandra Gupta adopted a prudent precaution in giving his daughter to the Vākāṭaka prince and so securing his subordinate alliance."

The campaign against the western Satraps is apparently alluded to in the Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Vīrasena-Śāba in the following passage "he (Śāba) came here, accompanied by the king (Chandra Gupta) in person, who was seeking to conquer the whole world." Śāba was an inhabitant of Pāṭaliputra who held the position, acquired by hereditary descent, of being a Sachiva of Chandra Gupta II, and was placed by his sovereign in charge of the Department of Peace and War. He naturally accompanied his master when the great western expedition was undertaken. The campaign against the Śakas was eminently successful. The fall of

1 Nāga-[illegible]lotpannā, *cf.* JASB., 1924, p. 58.
2 JRAS., 1914, p. 324.

the Śaka Satrap is alluded by Bāṇa. The annexation of his territory is proved by coins.[1]

Chief Cities of the Empire.—The original Gupta metropolis seems to have been at Pāṭaliputra. But after his western conquests Chandra Gupta made Ujjain a second capital. Certain chiefs of the Kanarese districts who claimed descent from Chandra Gupta (Vikramāditya), referred to their ancestor as Ujjayinî-puravar-ādhîśvara as well as Pāṭali-puravar-ādhîśvara. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar identifies Chandra Gupta with the traditional Vikramāditya Śakāri of Ujjain.[2] The titles Śrî Vikramaḥ, Siṁha-vikramaḥ, Ajita-Vikramaḥ, Vikramāṅka and Vikramāditya actually occur on Chandra Gupta's coins.

We have no detailed contemporary account of Ujjayinî (also called Viśālā, Padmāvatî, Bhogavatî, Hiraṇyavatî)[3] in the days of Chandra Gupta. But Fa-hien who visited India during the period A.D. 405 to 411, has left an interesting account of Pāṭaliputra. The pilgrim refers to the royal palace of Aśoka and halls in the midst of the city, "which exist now as of old," and were according to him all made by spirits which Aśoka employed, and which piled up the stones, reared the walls and gates, and executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture-work,—in a way which no human hands of this world could accomplish. "The inhabitants are rich and prosperous, and vie with one another in the practice of benevolence and righteousness. Every year on the eighth day of the second month

[1] It has been suggested recently that, like his father, Chandra Gupta, t performed a horse sacrifice (IHQ., 1927, p. 725) and that a stone horse lying ir village named Nagawa near Benares, and bearing an inscription containing the lette.s Chamdragu, commemorates the event.

[2] In literature Vikramāditya is represented as ruling at Pāṭaliputra (Kathā-sarit-sāgara, VII, 4.3 :—Vikramāditya ityāsidrājā Pāṭaliputrake) as well as Ujjayinî.

[3] Meghadūta (I, 31) and Kathā-sarit-sāgara, Tawney's translation, Vol. p. 275. For an account of Ujjayinî in the seventh century A.D. see Beal, H. Tsa·g, II, p. 270; and Ridding, Kādambarî, pp. 210 ff.

they celebrate a procession of images... The Heads of the Vaiśya families establish houses for dispensing charity and medicines." The principal port of the empire on the east coast was Tāmralipti or Tamluk from which ships set sail for Ceylon, Java (then a centre of Brāhmaṇism) and China.

Much light is thrown on the character of Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya's administration by the narrative of Fa-hien and the inscriptions that have hitherto been discovered.

Speaking of the Middle Kingdom (the dominions of Chandra Gupta) the Chinese pilgrim says "the people are numerous and happy; they have not to register their households, or attend to any magistrates and their rules; only those who cultivate the royal land have to pay a portion of the gain from it. If they want to go, they go: if they want to stay on, they stay. The king governs without decapitation or other corporal punishments. Criminals are simply fined, lightly or heavily, according to the circumstances of each case. Even in cases of repeated attempts at wicked rebellion they only have their right hands cut off. The king's body-guards and attendants all have salaries. Throughout the whole country the people do not kill any living creature, nor drink intoxicating liquor, nor eat onions or garlic. The only exception is that of the Chandālas. In buying and selling commodities they use cowries" (Legge). The last statement evidently refers to such small transactions as Fa-hien had occasion to make (Allan). The pilgrim does not seem to have met with the gold coins which would only be required for large transactions. That they were actually in currency, we know from the references to donations of "dināras" and "suvarṇas" in the inscriptions.

That Chandra Gupta was a good monarch may be inferred also from the inscriptions. He was himself

a devout Vaishṇava (Parama-bhágavata). But he appointed men of other sects to high offices. His general Āmrakārddava, the hero of a hundred fights (anēka-samar-āvāpta-vijaya-yaśas-patākaḥ) appears to have been a Buddhist, while his Minister of Peace and War (Śāba-Vîrasena) and perhaps also his Mantrin, Śikharasvāmin, were Śaivas.

Regarding the machinery of Government we have no detailed information. But the following facts may be gleaned from the inscriptions.

As in Maurya times the head of the state was the Rājā who was apparently nominated by his predecessor. The king is now regarded as a divinity (Achintya Purusha, Dhanada-Varuṇendrāntaka-sama, loka-dhāma deva, Parama-daivata). He was assisted by a body of High Ministers whose office was very often hereditary (*cf.* the phrase "anvaya-prāpta Sāchivya" of the Udayagiri Inscription of Śāba).[1] The most important among the High Ministers were the Mantrin, the Śāṁdhi-vigrahika and the Akshapaṭal-ādhikṛita. Like the Kauṭilyan Mantrin, the Gupta Śāṁdhi-vigrahika accompanied the sovereign to the battle-field. As in the case of most of the *Pradhānas* of Śivājī, there was no clear-cut division between civil and military officials. The same person could be Śāṁdhi-vigrahika, Kumārāmātya and Mahā-daṇḍa-nāyaka, and a Mantrin could become a Mahā-bal-ādhikṛita.

It is not clear whether the Guptas had a central Mantri-parishad.[2] But the existence of local parishads

The Mahā-daṇḍa-nāyaka Harishena was the son of the Mahā-daṇḍa-nāyaka Dhruva-bhūti. The Mantrin Pṛithivi-sheṇa was the son of the Mantrin Śikharasvāmin. *Cf.* also the hereditary governors of Mandasor, Surāshṭra, etc. Things were somewhat different in the Maurya Period. Pushya Gupta, Rāshṭriya of Surāshṭra in the time of Chandra Gupta Maurya, was quite unconnected with Tushāspha, governor in the time of Aśoka.

[2] The Bilsaḍ Ins. (CII., 44) refers to a [Pa]rshad. But there is nothing to show that it was a central political assembly.

(*e.g.*, the Parishad of Udānakūpa) is proved by a Basārh seal discovered by Bloch.

The empire was divided into a number of Provinces (Deśas, Bhuktis, etc.) sub-divided into districts called Pradeśas or Vishayas. Among deśas the Gupta inscriptions mention Sukulideśa. Sarāshṭra, Ḍabhālā (Ḍāhala or Chedi of later times) and "Kālindi Narmadayor Madhya" are also perhaps to be placed under this category.

Among Bhuktis we have reference to Puṇḍra-vardhana bhukti, Tīrabhukti, Nagara bhukti, Śrāvastī bhukti and Ahichchhatrā bhukti. Among Pradeśas or Vishayas mention is made of Lâta-vishaya, Tripurī-vishaya, Arikiṇa (called Pradeśa in Samudra Gupta's Eraṇ inscription, and Vishaya in that of Toramāṇa) Antarvedī, Vālavī, (?) Gayā, Koṭivarsha, Mahākhushāpāra (?) and Kuṇḍadhāṇi (?).

The Deśas were governed by officers called Goptris or Wardens of the Marches (*cf.* Sarveshu Deśeshu vidhāya Goptrin). The Bhuktis were governed by Uparika Mahārājas who were sometimes princes of the Imperial family (*e.g.*, Rajāputra-deva-bhaṭṭāraka, Governor of Puṇḍravardhana bhukti mentioned in a Dāmodarpur plate, Govinda Gupta, Governor of Tīrabhukti mentioned in the Basārh seals [1] and Ghaṭotkacha Gupta). The office of Vishaya-pati or District Officer was held by Imperial officials like the Kumār-āmātya and Āyuktaka, as well as by feudatory Mahārājas (*cf.* Mātṛivishṇu). Some of the Vishayapatis (*e.g.*, Śarvanāga of Antarvedī) were directly under the Emperor, while others (*e.g.*, those of Koṭivarsha, Arikiṇa and Tripurī) were under provincial Governors. The Governors and District Officers were no doubt helped by officials and functionaries like the Dāṇḍika, Chaur-oddharaṇika, Daṇḍapāśika (apparently

[1] Govinda Gupta is known also from the newly discovered Mandasor Jns. (ASI., Annual Report, 1922-23; Calc. Rev., 1923, July, 155) which mentions his Senādhipa Vāyurakshita, and Vāyu's son Dattabhaṭa, Commander-in-chief of the forces of king Prabhākara (467-68 A. D.).

Police officials), Nagaraśreshṭhî (guild-president ?), Sārthavāha (*lit.* merchant), Prathamakulika (the chief artisan ?), Prathama-kāyastha (the chief scribe), Pusta-pāla (record-keeper ?) and others. Every Vishaya consisted of a number of "grāmas" or villages which were administered by the Grāmikas, Mahattaras or Bhojakas.

Outside the limits of the Imperial provinces lay the vassal kingdoms and republics, mentioned in the Allahabad praśasti and other documents.

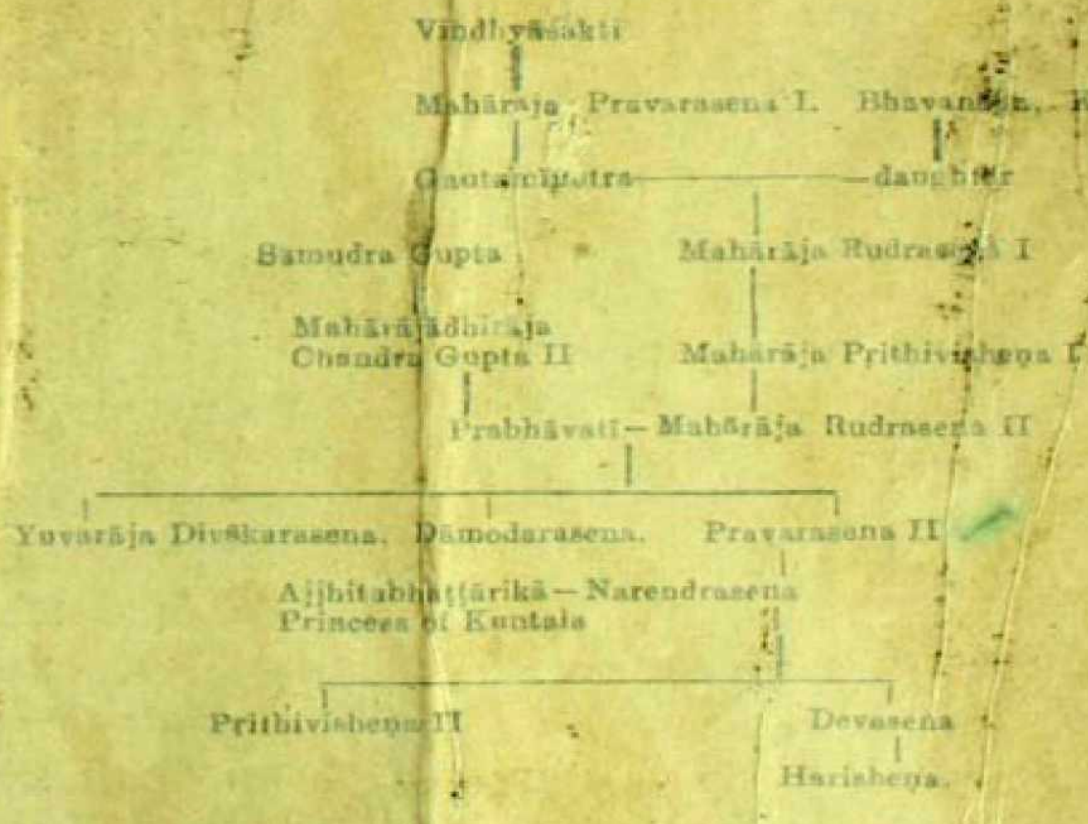
The Basārh seals throw some interesting sidelight on the provincial and municipal government as well as the economic organisation of the province of Tîrabhukti. The province was apparently governed by prince Govinda Gupta, a son of the Emperor by the Mahādevī Śrî Dhruva-svāminî, who had his capital at Vaiśālî. The seals mention several officials like the Uparika (Governor), the Kumār-āmātya,[1] the Mahā-pratihāra (the great chamberlain), the Mahā-daṇḍa-nāyaka (the great general), the Vinaya-sthiti-sthāpaka (the censor), and the Bhaṭāśvapati (lord of the army and cavalry), and the following offices, *e.g.*, Yuvarāja-pādîya Kumār-āmātya-ādhikaraṇa (office of the Minister of His Highness the Crown Prince, according to Vogel), Raṇa-bhāṇḍāgār-ādhikaraṇa (office of the chief treasurer of the war department), Balādhikaraṇa (office of the chief of the military forces), Daṇḍapāś-ādhikaraṇa (office of the chief of Police), Tîra-bhukty-Upārik-ādhikaraṇa (office of the governor of Tirhut), Tîrabhuktau Vinaya-sthiti-sthāpak-ādhikaraṇa (office of the censor [?] of Tirhut), Vaiśāly-ādhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇa (office of the governor of Vaiśālî), Śrî-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pādîya Kumār-āmātya-ādhikaraṇa (office of the minister of the Prince, or minister in charge of Princes, or junior minister waiting on His Majesty).

[1] It may mean *here* (1) minister of the Prince, (2) minister in charge of Princes, or (3) a junior minister whose father is alive. But *cf.* Ep. Ind., X, 49; XV, 302 f.

The reference to the Parishad of Udānakūpa shows that the Parishad still formed an important element of the Hindu machinery of government. The mention of the corporation of guild-presidents, traders and chief of the group of artisans or of kindred bodies (Śreshṭhī sārthavāha-kulika-nigama) is of interest to students of economics.

Chandra Gupta II had at least two queens, Dhruvadevī and Kuberanāgā. The first queen was the mother of Govinda Gupta and Kumāra Gupta I. The second queen was the mother of Prabhāvatī who became queen of the Vākāṭakas and gave birth to Divākarasena, Dāmodara sena and Pravarasena II. Certain mediæval chiefs of the Kanarese country claimed descent from Chandra Gupta. The origin of these chiefs is probably to be traced to some unrecorded adventures of Vikramāditya in the Deccan.[1]

GENEALOGY OF THE VAKATAKAS.



[1] *Cf.* "Bhoja, in his *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśikā*, mentions that Kālidāsa was sent on an embassy to a Kuntala king by Vikramāditya." "Kṣemendra, in the *Aucitya-Vichāra Carcā*, refers to Kālidāsa's Kunteśvara-Dautya" (Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, 1924, p. 6).

II. Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya.

Chandra Gupta II's successor was Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya[1] whose certain dates range from A.D. 415 to A.D. 455. His extensive coinage, and the wide distribution of his inscriptions show that he was able to retain his father's empire including the western provinces. One of his **viceroys**, Chirātadatta, governed Puṇḍravardhaṇa Bhukti or north Bengal;[2] another viceroy, prince Ghaṭotkacha Gupta governed the province of Eraṇ which included Tumbavana;[3] a third viceroy or feudatory, Bandhuvarman, governed Daśapura.[4] The Karamadāṇḍe inscription of A.D. 436 mentions Pṛithivisheṇa who was a Mantrin and Kumārāmātya, and afterwards Mahā-balādhikṛita or general under Kumāra Gupta, probably stationed in Oudh.

Like his father, Kumāra was a tolerant king. During his rule the worship of Svāmî Mahāsena (Kārttikeya), Buddha, Śiva in the liṅga form, and the sun, as well as that of Vishṇu, flourished peacefully side by side.[5]

The two notable events of Kumāra's reign are : the celebration of the horse sacrifice (evidenced by the rare Aśvamedha type of his gold coinage), and the temporary eclipse of the Gupta power by the **Pushyamitras**. The reading Pushyamitra in the Bhitarî inscription is, however, not accepted by some scholars because the second syllable of this name is damaged.[6] Mr. H. R. Divekar in his article

[1] Also called Śrî Mahendra, Aśvamedha Mahendra, Ajita Mahendra, Siṁha Mahendra, Śrî Mahendra Siṁha, Mahendra Kumāra, Siṁha Vikrama (Allan, Gupta Coins, p. 80), Vyāghra-bala-parākrama, and Śrî Pratāpa.

[2] *Cf.* the Dāmodarpur plates of the years 124 and 129.

[3] M. B. Garde, Ind. Ant., 1920, p. 114, Tumain Inscription of the year 116, *i.e.*, A.D. 435.

[4] Mandasor Inscription of A.D. 437-38. Bhide suggests (JBORS., VII, March, 1921, p. 33f.) that Visva-varman of Gupta Ins. No. 17 is an independent king, who flourished a century before his namesake of Ins. No. 18, who is a feudatory (Goptṛi) of the Guptas. S. Majumdar points out that even Visva-varman of Ins. No. 17 must be later than Nara-varman of V.S. 461 (=A.D. 404-05).

[5] *Cf.* the Bilsaḍ, Mankuwār, Karamadāṇḍe, and Mandasor inscriptions.

[6] *Cf.* Fleet, CII., p. 55 n.

"Puṣyamitras in Gupta Period"[1] makes the plausible emendation Yudhy=amitrāṁś=ca for Dr. Fleet's reading Puṣyamitrāṁś=ca in CII., iii, p. 55. It is admitted on all hands that during the concluding years of Kumāra's reign the Gupta empire "had been made to totter." Whether the reference in the inscription is simply to Amitras (enemies), or to Pushyamitras, cannot be satisfactorily determined. We should, however, remember in this connection that a people called Pushyamitra is actually referred to in the Vishṇu Purāṇa and probably also in the Jain Kalpasūtra.[2] The fallen fortunes of the Gupta family were restored by prince Skanda Gupta.[3]

Kumāra's chief queen was Anantadevî. He had at least two sons, *viz.*, Pura Gupta, son of Anantadevî, and Skanda Gupta the name of whose mother is not given in the inscriptions. Hiuen Tsang calls Buddha Gupta (Fo-to-kio-to) or Budha Gupta,[4] a son of Śakrāditya. The only predecessor of Budha Gupta who had this title was Kumāra Gupta I who is called Mahendrāditya on coins. Mahendra is the same as Śakra. The use of synonymous terms as names was not unknown in the Gupta period. Vikramāditya was also called Vikramāṅka. Skanda Gupta is called both Vikramāditya and Kramāditya, both the words meaning "sun of power." If Śakrāditya of Hiuen Tsang be identical with Mahendrāditya or Kumāra I, Budha Gupta was a son of Kumāra. Another son of the latter was apparently Ghaṭotkacha Gupta.[5]

[1] Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, 1919-20, 99f. [2] SBE., XXII, 292.

[3] *Cf.* the Bhitarî Inscription.

[4] The name Fo-to-kio-to has been restored as Buddha Gupta. But we have no independent evidence regarding the existence of a king named Buddha Gupta about this period. The synchronism of his successor's successor Bālāditya with Mihirakula indicates that the king meant was Budha Gupta, see p. 399 *post*. *Cf.* also Ind. Ant., 1886, 251n.

[5] *Cf.* the Tumain Inscription referred to by Mr. Gurle; also the Basarh seal mentioning Śrî Ghaṭotkacha Gupta.

III. Skanda Gupta Vikramāditya.

In an interesting paper read before the members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggested that after Kumāra's death there was a fratricidal struggle in which Skanda Gupta came of victorious after defeating his brothers including Pura Gupta, the rightful claimant, and rescued his mother just as Kṛishṇa rescued Devakî.[1] Dr. Majumdar says that the omission of the name of the mother of Skanda Gupta in the Bihār Stone Pillar and Bhitarî Inscriptions indicates that she was not a Mahādevî, and Skanda was not the rightful heir. The rightful heir of Kumāra was Pura Gupta, the son of the Mahādevî Anantadevî.

We should, however, remember that there was no rule prohibiting the mention of non-Mahadevīs in inscriptions. The mother of Prabhāvatî, Kuberanāgā, was not Chandra Gupta II's Mahādevî. Nevertheless she is mentioned in the inscriptions of her daughter. On the other hand the names of queens, the mothers of kings, were sometimes omitted.[2] In the *genealogical portion* of the Banskhera and Madhuban plates the name of Yaśomatī *as Harsha's mother* is not mentioned, but in the Sonpat seal she is mentioned both as the mother of Rājya-vardhana and as the mother of Harsha. The Pāla inscripions mention Lajjā, the queen of Vigraha Pāla I, and motler of Nārāyaṇa Pāla, but do not mention the queen of Nārāyaṇa Pāla, who was the mother of Rājya Pāla. They again mention Bhāgyadevī, the queen of Rājya Pāla and mother of Gopāla II. In the Bāṇagaḍ Inscription of Mahî Pāla I we have a

[1] *Cf.* the Bhitarî Inscription.

[2] The name of the father of a reigning king was also sometimes omitted (*cf.* Kielhorn's N. Ins. Nos. 464, 468).

āditya.[1] From the evidence of coins and inscrip-
ow that he ruled from A.D. 455 to c. 467.
achievement of Skanda was the restoration
ipta Empire. From an inscriptional passage we
while preparing to restore the fallen fortunes
of his family he was reduced to such straits that he had to spend a night sleeping on the bare earth. Line twelve of the Bhitarî Inscription tells us that when Kumāra Gupta I had attained the skies, Skanda conquered his enemies by the strength of his arms. From the context it seems that these enemies were the Pushyamitras "who had developed great power and wealth."

The struggle with the Pushyamitras was followed by conflicts with the Hūṇas[2] and probably also with the Vākāṭakas in which the emperor was presumably victorious in the end. The invasion of the Hūṇas took place not later than A.D. 458 if we identify them with the Mlechchhas of the Junāgaḍh inscription. The memory of the victory over the Mlechchhas is preserved in the story of king Vikramāditya, son of Mahendrāditya of Ujjain, in Somadeva's Kathā-sarit-sāgara.[3] Central India and Surāshṭra seem to have been the vulnerable parts of the Gupta empire. The Bākāghāṭ plates[4] refer to Narendrasena Vākāṭaka, son of Skanda Gupta's cousin Pravarasena II, as "Kosalā Mekalā-Mālav-ādhipaty-abhyarchita śāsana." The Junāgaḍh inscription tells us "he (Skanda) deliberated for days and nights before making up his mind who could be trusted with the important task of guarding the lands of the Surāshṭras."

[1] Allan, Catalogue, pp. 117, 122 ; *cf.* Fleet, CII., p. 53 :—
"Vinaya-balasunitair-vvikramēṇa kramēṇa
pratidinam-abhiyoād-īpsitaṁ yena labdhvā."

[2] The Hūṇas are mentioned not only in inscriptions, but in the Mahābhārata the Purāṇas, the Raghuvaṁśa and later in the Harshacharita and the Nītivākyāmṛita of Somadeva. The Lalita Vistara (translated by Dharmarakshā, c. 313) mentions the Hūṇalipi (Ind. Ant., 1913, p. 266).

[3] Allan, Gupta Coins, Introduction, p. xlix.

[4] Ep. Ind., IX, p. 271.

Allan deduces from this and from the words "S- deśeshu vidhāya goptṛin" that the emperor was- cular pains to appoint a series of Wardens of th- to protect his dominions from future invasion. these Wardens was Parṇadatta,[1] governor of Su- In spite of all his efforts Skanda Gupta could not save the westernmost part of his empire from future troubles. During his lifetime he, no doubt, retained his hold over Surāshṭra and the adjoining portions of Mālwa. But his successors do not appear to have been so fortunate. Not a single inscription has yet been discovered which shows that Surāshṭra and western Mālwa formed parts of the Gupta empire after the death of Skanda Gupta. On the contrary Harishena Vākāṭaka, grandson of Narendrasena, claims victories over Lāṭa and Avanti, besides Trikuṭa, Kuntala, Andhra, Kaliṅga, and Kosala, while the Maitrakas of Valabhi gradually assume independence.

The later years of Skanda seem to have been tranquil.[2] The emperor was helped in the work of administration by a number of able governors like Parṇadatta, viceroy of the west, Sarvanāga, Vishayapati of Antarvedi or the Doāb, and Bhimavarman, the ruler of the Kosam region. Chakrapālita, son of Parṇadatta, restored in A.D. 457-8 the embankment forming the lake Sudarśana which had burst two years previously. The emperor continued the tolerant policy of his forefathers. Himself a Vaishṇava, he and his officers did not discourage other faiths, *e.g.*, Jainism and solar worship. The people were also tolerant. The Kahaum inscription commemorates the erection of Jaina images by a person "full of affection for Brāhmaṇas." The Indore plate records a deed by a Brāhmaṇa endowing a lamp in a temple of the Sun.

[1] Persian Farna-dāta seems, according to Jarl Charpentier, to be the form underlying the name Parna-datta (*JRAS.*, 1931, 140).

[2] *Cf.* the Kahaum Ins.

INDIA IN THE AGE OF THE LATER GUPTAS

To face page 391.

The Gupta Empire (*continued*) : The Later Guptas.

Vasvaukasārāmatibhūya sāhaṁ
Saurājya vaddhotsavayā bibhūtyā
* * *
Sati prapannā karuṇāmavasthām
—*Raghuvaṁśam.*

1. *Survival of the Gupta Power after Skanda Gupta.*

It is now admitted by all scholars that the reign of Skanda Gupta ended about A.D. 467.[1] When he passed away the empire declined[2] but did not wholly perish. We have epigraphic as well as literary evidence of the continuance of the Gupta empire in the latter half of the fifth as well as the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. The Dāmodarpur plates, Sārnāth Inscriptions[3] and the Eraṇ epigraph of Budha Gupta prove that from A.D. 477 to 496 the Gupta empire extended from Bengal to Eastern Mālwa. The Betul plates of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Saṁkshobha dated in the year 199 G.E. (Srîmati pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājye saṁvatsara-śate nava-navaty-uttare Gupta-nṛipa-rājya-bhuktau), *i.e.*, 518 A.D., testify to the fact that the Gupta sway at this period was acknowledged in Ḍabhālā, which included the Tripurî Vishaya (Jabbalpur region).[4] Another inscription of Saṁkshobha found in the valley near the village of Khōh in Baghēlkhaṇḍ, dated in A.D. 528, proves that the Gupta empire included the Central Provinces even in A.D. 528.[5] Fifteen years later the grant of a village in the Koṭivarsha

1 Smith, the Oxford History of India, additions and corrections, p. 171, end.
2 For the causes of decline, see Calcutta Review, April, 1930, pp. 36 ff.
3 A.S.I. Report, 1914-15.
4 Ep. Ind., VIII, pp. 284-87. Ḍabhālā = later Dāhala.
5 Fleet, CII., III, pp. 113-16.

Vishaya of Puṇḍra-vardhana-bhukti 'during the reign of Parama-daivata Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śrī .....Gupta,'' [1] shows that the Gupta empire at this period included the eastern as well as the central provinces. Towards the close of the sixth century a Gupta king, a contemporary of Prabhākara-vardhana of the Pushpabhūti [2] family of Śrîkaṇṭha (Thānēsar), was ruling in Mālava.[3] Two sons of this king, Kumāra Gupta and Mādhava Gupta were appointed to wait upon the princes Rājya-vardhana and Harsha of Thānēsar. From the Aphsaḍ inscription of Âdityasēna we learn that the fame of the father of Mādhava Gupta, the associate of Harsha,[4] marked with honour of victory in war over Susthitavarman, king of Kāmarūpa, was constantly sung on the banks of the river Lohitya or Brahmaputra. This indicates that even in or about A.D. 600 (the time of Prabhākara-vardhana) the sway of the Gupta dynasty extended from Mālava to the Brahmaputra.[5]

1 Ep. Ind., XV, p. 113 ff. Corrected in Ep. Ind., XVII (Jan., 1924), p. 193.

2 The correct spelling is probably Pushyabhūti (Ep. Ind., I. 68).

3 Mālava seems to have been under the direct rule of the Guptas in the sixth and seventh centuries. Magadha was probably administered by local rulers like Mahārāja Kumārāmātya Nandana (A.D. 551-2?) of the Amauna plate, and the Varmans (*cf.* Nāgārjuni Hill Cave Ins., CII., 226; also Pūrṇavarman mentioned by Hiuen Tsang and Deva-varman, IA., X, 110). For a detailed discussion see Ray Chaudhuri, JBORS., XV, parts *iii* and *iv* (1929, p. 651 f.). The precise location and extent of the Mālava of the later Guptas cannot be determined. In Ep. Ind. V. 229, the Daṇḍanāyaka Anantapāla, a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI, is said to have subdued the *Sapta* Mālava countries up to the Himālaya Mountains. This proves that there were as many as seven countries called Mālava (*cf.* also Rice, Mysore and Coorg, 46). These were probably : (1) Mo-la-po (Mālavaka-āhāra of Valabhi grants) on the Mahi governed by the Maitrakas. (2) Avanti ruled by the Katachchuris or Kalachuris of the Abhona plates (sixth century) and by a Brāhmaṇa family in the time of H. Tsang. (3) Pūrva-Mālava (round Bhilsa), (4) District round Prayāga. (5) Fatehpur District in U. P. (6) Cis-Sutlej districts of the Pañjāb. (7) Some Himālayan territory. The later Guptas probably held (3) and (4).

4 *Cf.* Hoernle in JRAS., 1903, 561.

5 An allusion to the later Guptas seems to occur in the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa which says that the lotus feet of Kubera, the poet's great-grandfather, were worshipped by many a Gupta.

In the first half of the seventh century the Gupta power was no doubt overshadowed by that of Harsha. But after the death of the great Kanauj monarch, the Gupta empire was revived by Ādityasēna, son of Mādhava Gupta, who "ruled the whole earth up to the shores of the oceans," performed the Aśvamedha and other great sacrifices and assumed the titles of Parama-bhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājādhirāja.

II. Pura Gupta and Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya.

We shall now proceed to give an account of Skanda Gupta's successors. The immediate successor of Skanda Gupta seems to have been his brother **Pura Gupta**. The existence of this king was unknown till the discovery of the Bhitarî seal of Kumāra Gupta II in 1889, and its publication by Smith and Hoernle.[1] This seal describes Pura Gupta as the son of Kumāra I by the queen Anantadevî, and does not mention Skanda Gupta. The mention of Pura Gupta immediately after Kumāra with the prefix Tat-pād-ānudhyāta does not necessarily prove that Pura Gupta was the immediate successor of his father, and a contemporary and rival of his brother or half-brother Skanda Gupta.[2] In the Manahali grant Madanapāla is described as Srî-Rāmapāla-Deva-pād-ānudhyāta, although he was preceded by his elder brother Kumārapāla. In Kielhorn's Northern Inscription No. 39, Vijayapāla is described as the successor of Kshitipāla, although he was preceded by his brother Devapāla (Ins. No. 31). Dr. Smith has shown that Skanda ruled over the whole empire including the eastern and the central as well as the western provinces. There was no room for a rival Mahārājādhirāja in Northern India during his reign. He was a man of mature years at the time of his death

[1] JASB., 1889, pp. 84-105.

[2] The omission of Skanda's name in the Bhitarî seal of his brother's grandson does not necessarily imply that the relations between him and Pura's family were unfriendly. The name of Pulakeśin II is omitted in an inscription of his brother and Yuvarāja Vishṇuvardhana (Sātārā grant, Ind. Ant., 1890, p. 227f.). The name of Bhoja II of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty is not mentioned in the Partabgarh Inscription of his nephew Mahendrapāla II, but it is mentioned in an inscription of his brother Vināyakapāla, the father of Mahendrapāla. Besides, there was no custom prohibiting the mention of the name of a rival uncle or brother. Mangaleśa and Govinda II are mentioned in the inscriptions of their rivals and their descendants. On the other hand even an ancestor of a reigning king was sometimes omitted, *e.g.*, Rudrasena II is omitted in one Ajaṇṭā inscription, Dharapaṭṭa is omitted in his son's inscription (Kielhorn, N. Ins., No. 464).

cir. A.D. 467. His brother and successor Pura Gupta, too, must have been an old man at that time. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that he had a very short reign and died sometime before A.D. 473 when his grandson Kumāra Gupta II was ruling. Pura Gupta's queen was Śrî Vatsadevî, the mother of Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya.

The coins of Pura Gupta have the reverse legend Śrî Vikramaḥ. Allan identifies him with king Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā, father of Bālāditya, who was a patron of Buddhism through the influence of Vasubandhu. The importance of this identification lies in the fact that it proves that the immediate successors of Skanda Gupta had a capital at Ayodhyā probably till the rise of the Maukharis. If the spurious Gayā plate is to be believed Ayodhyā was the seat of a Gupta Jaya-skandhāvāra as early as the time of Samudra Gupta.

The principal capital of Bālāditya and his successors appears to have been Kāśī.[1] The evidence of the Bharsar hoard seems to suggest that a king styled Prakāśāditya came shortly after Skanda Gupta. Prakāśāditya may have been a *biruda* of Pura Gupta Śrî Vikrama, or of his grandson Kumāra Kramāditya, preferably the latter as the letters *Ku* seem to occur on Prakāśāditya's coins. That the same king might have two "Âditya" names is proved by the cases of Skanda Gupta (Vikramāditya and Kramāditya) and Śîlāditya Dharmāditya of Valabhi.

Pura Gupta was succeeded by his son **Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya**. This king has been identified with king Bālāditya whose troops are represented by Hiuen Tsang as having imprisoned the tyrant Mihirakula. It has been overlooked that Hiuen Tsang's Bālāditya was the immediate successor of Tathāgata Gupta[2] who was himself the

[1] CII., 285.

[2] Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 111. Si-yu-ki, II, p. 168.

immediate successor of Budha Gupta[1] whereas Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya was the son and successor of Pura Gupta who in his turn was the son of Kumāra Gupta I and the successor of Skanda Gupta. The son and successor of Hiuen Tsang's Bālāditya was Vajra[2] while the son and successor of Narasiṁha was Kumāra Gupta II. It is obvious that the conqueror of Mihirakula was not the son of Pura Gupta but an altogether different individual.[3] The existence of several kings of the Madhyadēśa having the *biruda* Bālāditya is proved by the Sārnāth Inscription of Prakaṭāditya.[4] Narasiṁha Gupta must have died in or about the year A.D. 473. He was succeeded by his son Kumāra Gupta II Kramāditya by queen Mahā-lakshmî-devî.

[1] Fo-to-kio-to. Beal, Fleet and Watters render the term by Buddha Gupta, a name unknown to Gupta epigraphy. The synchronism of his grandson Bālāditya with Mihirakula proves that Budha Gupta is meant, see p. 399 *post*.

[2] Yuan Chwang, II, p. 165.

[3] Mr. Bhaṭṭasāli, who upholds the identification of Hiuen Tsang's Bālāditya with the son of Pura Gupta, not only ignores the evidence of the *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p. 111, but makes the astounding suggestion that Vajra was a family name.

[4] CII., p. 285. A Bālāditya is mentioned in the Nālanda Stone Inscription of Yaśovarman (Ep. Ind., 1929, Jan., 38).

III. Kumāra Gupta II.

Kumāra Gupta II has been identified with the king of that name mentioned in the Sārnāth Buddhist Image inscription of the year 154 G.E., *i.e.*, A.D. 473-74. Messrs. Bhaṭṭasālî and R. G. Basāk think that the two Kumāra Guptas were not identical. The former places Kumāra, son of Narasiṁha, long after A.D. 500.[1] But his theory is based upon the doubtful identification of Narasiṁha with the conqueror of Mihirakula. According to Mr. Basāk Kumāra of the Sārnāth Inscription was the immediate successor of Skanda. In his opinion there were two rival Gupta lines ruling simultaneously, one consisting of Skanda, Kumāra of Sārnāth and Budha, the other consisting of Pura, Narasiṁha and his son Kumāra of the Bhitarî seal But there is not the slightest evidence of the disruption of the Gupta empire in the latter half of the fifth century A.D. On the contrary inscriptions prove that both Skanda and Budha ruled over the whole empire from Bengal to Western India. There is thus no cogent reason for doubting the identity of Kumāra of the Bhitarî seal with his namesake of the Sārnāth inscription.

Kumāra II's reign must have terminated in or about the year A.D. 476-77, the first known date of Budha Gupta. The reigns of Pura, Narasiṁha and Kumāra II appear to be abnormally short, amounting together to only ten years (A.D. 467-77). This is by no means a unique case. In Veṅgî three Eastern Chalukya Monarchs, *viz.*, Vijayāditya IV, his son Ammarāja I, and Ammarāja's son, another Vijayāditya, ruled only for seven years and six and a half months.[2] In Kaśmîra six kings Śūravarman,

1 Dacca Review, May and June, 1920, pp. 54-57.

2 Hultzsch, SII., Vol. I, p. 46.

I, Pārtha, Śambhuvardhana, Chakravarman, Unmattāvanti and Śūravarman II, ruled within six years (A.D. 933-939); and three generations of kings, *viz.*, Yaśaskara, his uncle Varṇaṭa, and his son Samgrāmadeva ruled for ten years (A.D. 939-949).

IV. Budha Gupta.

For Budha Gupta, the successor of Kumāra II, we have a number of dated inscriptions and coins which prove that he ruled for about twenty years (A.D. 477-96). We learn from Hiuen Tsang that he was a son of Śakrāditya. The only predecessor of Budha Gupta who had that title was Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya (Mahendra =Śakra). It seems probable that Budha was the youngest son of Kumāra I, and consequently a brother or half-brother of Skanda and Pura. Fleet correctly points out that the name of Śakrāditya's son as given by Hiuen Tsang is Fo-to-kio-to, *i.e.*, Buddha Gupta and not Budha Gupta. Similarly Watters points out that Punna-fa-tan-na of the pilgrim is equivalent to Punya-vardhana and not Puṇḍra-vardhana. But just as there is no proof of the existence of a place called Puṇya-vardhana apart from the well-known Puṇḍra-vardhana, so there is no proof of the existence of a Gupta king named Buddha apart from the well-known Budha Gupta. The synchronism of Fo-to-kio-to's grandson Bâlâditya with Mihirakula proves that Budha Gupta is meant. If Fo-to-kio-to is identified with Budha Gupta, and his father Śakrāditya with Mahendrāditya (Kumāra Gupta I), we understand why Fa Hien, who visited India in the time of Chandra Gupta II, father of Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya, is silent about the buildings at Nālanda constructed by Śakrāditya and Budha Gupta about which Hiuen Tsang (7th century A.D.) speaks so much.

Two copper-plate inscriptions, discovered in the village of Dāmodarpur in the district of Dināpur, testify to the fact that Budha Gupta's empire included Puṇḍravardhana bhukti (North Bengal) which was governed by his viceroys (Uparika Mahārāja) Brahmadatta and

Jayadatta.[1] The Sārnāth inscription of A.D. 476-77 proves his possession of the Kāsî country. In A.D. 484-85 the erection of a Dhvaja-stambha by the Mahārāja Mātṛi-vishṇu, ruler of Eraṇ, and his brother Dhanyavishṇu while Budha Gupta was reigning, and Mahārāja Suraśmi-chandra was governing the land between the Kālindî and the Narmadā, indicates that Budha Gupta's dominions included Central India as well as Kāsî and Bengal. The coins of this emperor are dated in the year A.D. 495-6. They continue the types of the Gupta silver coinage; their legend is the claim to be lord of the earth and to have won heaven,—found on the coins of Kumāra I, and Skanda.

[1] To the reign of this Gupta king belongs also probably the Pāhāḍpur plate of A.D. 478-79 (Mod. Rev., 1931, 150; Prabāsi, 1339, 671).

V. Successors of Budha Gupta.

According to the life of Hiuen Tsang Budha Gupta was succeeded by **Tathāgata** Gupta, after whom **Bālāditya** succeeded to the empire.[1] At this period the supremacy of the Guptas in Central India was challenged by the Hun king Tōramāṇa. We have seen that in A.D. 484-85 a Mahārāja named Mātṛivishṇu ruled in the Arikiṇa Vishaya (Eraṇ) as a vassal of the emperor Budha Gupta. But after his death his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu acknowledged the supremacy of Toramāṇa. The success of the Huns in Central India was, however, short-lived. In 510-11 we find a general name Goparāja fighting by the side of a Gupta king at Eraṇ and king Hastin of the neighbouring province of Ḍabhālā acknowledging the sovereignty of the Guptas. In 518 the suzerainty of the Guptas is acknowledged in the Tripurī vishaya. In the year 528-29 the Gupta sway was still acknowledged by the Parivrājaka Mahārāja of Ḍabhālā. The Parivrājakas Hastin and Samkshōbha seem to have been the bulwarks of the Gupta empire in the Central Provinces. The Harsha Charita of Bāṇa recognises the possession of Mālava by the Guptas as late as the time of Prabhākara-vardhana (*cir.* A.D. 600). There can be no doubt that the expulsion of the Huns from Central India was final. The recovery of the Central Provinces was probably effected in the time of Bālāditya whose troops are represented by Hiuen Tsang as having imprisoned Mihirakula, the son and successor of Toramāṇa, and set him at liberty at the request of the Queen Mother. The Hun King had to be content with a "small kingdom in the north."[2] It is not improbable that Bālāditya was a *biruda* of the "glorious

1 Beal, Si-yu-ki, II, p. 168; the Life, p. 111.

2 Si-yu-ki, p. 171.

Bhānu Gupta, the bravest man on the earth, a mighty king, equal to Pārtha" along with whom Goparāja went to Erāṇ and having fought a "very famous battle" died shortly before A. D. 510-11.[1]

Mihirakula was finally subjugated by the *Janendra*[2] **Yaśodharman** of Mandasōr shortly before A. D. 533. Line 6 of the Mandasōr Stone Pillar inscription[3] leaves the impression that in the time of Yaśodharman Mihirakula was the king of a Himālayan country ("small kingdom in the north"), *i.e.*, Kaśmira and that neighbourhood, who was compelled "to pay respect to the two feet" of the victorious Janendra probably when the latter carried

[1] An inscription found at Guṇāighara near Comilla discloses the existence of a king named (Vai) nya Gu (pta) who ruled in A.D. 506 and must have been also a contemporary of Mihirakula or of his father (Prabāsi, 1338, 675).

[2] The ascription of the title of Vikramāditya to Yaśodharman of Mandaśor, and the representation of this chief as a ruler of Ujjain, the father of Śilāditya of Mo-la-po, and the father-in-law of Prabhākara-Vardhana, are absolutely unwarranted. According to Father Heras (JBORS., 1927, March, 8-9) the defeat of Mihirakula at the hands of Bālāditya took place after the Hun king's conflict with Yaśodharman. It should, however, be remembered that at the time of the war with Bālāditya Mihirakula was a paramount sovereign to whom the king of Magadha had been tributary, and with whom he dared not fight, being only anxious to *conceal his poor person* (Beal, Si-yu-ki, Vol. I, p. 168). This is hardly possible after the *Janendra* of Mandasōr had compelled the Hun "to pay respect to his two feet." The victory of Bālāditya over Mihirakula was certainly not decisive. The "loss of the royal estate" was only temporary, and the tyrant soon placed himself on the throne of Kaśmīra and conquered Gandhāra (Beal, II, 171). To the court poet of Yaśodharman Mihirakula was pre-eminently a king of the Himālayan region. This is clear from the following passage which was misunderstood by Fleet whose interpretation has been followed by Father Heras (p. 8 n) :—

"He (Yaśodharman) to whose feet respect was paid...by even that (famous) king Mihirakula, whose head had never (previously) been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save (the god) Sthānu (and) *embraced by whose arms the mountain of snow falsely prides itself as being styled an inaccessible fortress.*" (Kielhorn in Ind. Ant., 1889, p. 219.) Kielhorn's interpretation was accepted by Fleet. [The statement that Mihirakula's head "had never been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save (the god) Sthānu" shows that he refused to do homage to Bālāditya, and probably accounts for the order, given for his execution by that king.]

[3] CII., pp. 146-147; Jayaswal, The Historical Position of Kalki, p. 9.

his arms to "the mountain of snow the table lands of which are embraced by the Gaṅgā."

Yaśōdharman claims to have extended his sway as far as the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra in the east. It is not improbable that he defeated and killed **Vajra** the son and successor of Bālāditya, and extinguished the viceregal family of the Dattas of Puṇḍravardhana. Hiuen Tsang mentions a king of Central India as the successor of Vajra. The Dattas who governed Puṇḍravardhana from the time of Kumāra Gupta I disappear about this time. But Yaśodharman's success must have been short-lived, because in A. D. 543-44, ten years after the Mandasōr inscription which mentions the Janendra Yaśodharman as victorious, the son (?) and viceroy of a Gupta parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Pṛithivipati, and not any official of the Central Indian Janendra, was governing the Puṇḍra-vardhana-bhukti, a province which lay between the Indian interior and the Lauhitya.

VI. The Line of Kṛishṇa Gupta.

The name of the Gupta emperor in the Dāmodarpur plate of A. D. 543-44 is unfortunately lost. The Aphsaḍ inscription, however, discloses the names of a number of Gupta kings, the fourth of whom, Kumāra Gupta (III), was a contemporary of Iśānavarman Maukhari who is known from the Harāhā inscription to have been ruling in A.D. 554.[1] Kumāra Gupta III, and his three predecessors, *viz.*, Kṛishṇa, Harsha and Jîvita should probably be placed in the period between A.D. 510, the date of Bhānu Gupta and 554 the date of Iśānavarman. It is possible that one of these kings is identical with the Gupta emperor mentioned in the Dāmodarpur plate of 543-544.[2] The absence of highsounding titles like Mahārājādhirāja or Parama-bhaṭṭāraka in the Ślokas of the Aphsaḍ inscription does not necessarily prove that the kings mentioned there were petty chiefs. No such titles are attached to the name of Kumāra I in the Mandasor inscription, or to the name of Budha in the Eraṇ inscription. On the other hand the queen of Mādhava Gupta, one of the kings mentioned in the Aphsaḍ inscription, is called Parama-bhaṭṭārikā and Mahādevî in the Dêō Baraṇārk epigraph.

Regarding **Kṛishṇa Gupta** we know very little. The Aphsaḍ inscription describes him as a hero whose arm played the part of a lion, in bruising the foreheads of the array of the rutting elephants of (his) haughty enemy (dṛiptārāti), (and) in being victorious by (its) prowess over countless foes. The dṛiptārāti against whom he had to fight may have been Yaśodharman. The next king **Harsha** had to engage in terrible contests with those who were "averse to the abode of the goddess of fortune being with (him,

[1] H. Śāstrî, Ep. Ind., XIV, pp. 110 ff.

[2] Mr. Y. R. Gupte (Ind. Hist. Journal) reads the name of Kumāra in the inscription of A.D. 543-44, but he identifies him with the son of Narasiṁha Gupta.

her) own lord." There were wounds from many weapons on his chest. The names of the enemies, who tried to deprive him of his rightful possessions, are not given. Harsha's son **Jīvita Gupta I** probably succeeded in re-establishing the power of his family. "The very terrible scorching fever (of fear) left not (his) haughty foes, even though they stood on seaside shores that were cool with the flowing and ebbing currents of water, (and) were covered with the branches of plantain trees severed by the trunks of elephants roaming through the lofty groves of palmyra palms; (or) even though they stood on (that) mountain (Himālaya) which is cold with the water of the rushing and waving torrents full of snow." The "haughty foes" on seaside shores were probably the Gauḍaś who had already launched into a career of conquest about this time and who are described as living on the sea shore (samudrāśraya) in the Harāhā inscription of A.D. 554.[1]

The next king, **Kumāra Gupta III**, had to encounter a sea of troubles. The Gauḍas were issuing from their "proper realm" which was western Bengal as it bordered on the sea and included Karṇasuvarṇa[2] and Rāḍhāpurî.[3] The lord of the Andhras who had thousands of three-fold rutting elephants, and the Śūlikas who had an army of countless galloping horses, were powers to be reckoned with. The Andhra king was probably Mādhava-varman II of the Vishṇukuṇḍin family who "crossed the river Godāvarî with the desire to conquer the eastern region."[4] The Śūlikas were probably the Chalukyas.[5] In the Mahākuṭa pillar inscription the name appears as Chalikya. In the Gujarāṭ records we find the forms Solaki and Solaṅki. Śūlika

1 Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 110 *et seq.*

2 M. Chakravarti, JASB., 1908, p. 274.

3 Prabodha-chandrodaya, Act II.

4 Dubreuil, AHD., p. 92.

5 In the Bṛihat-Saṁhitā XIV. 8, the Śaulikas are associated with Vidarbha. In JRAS., 1912, 128, we have a reference to Kulastambha of the Śulki family.

may be another dialectic variant. The Mahākuṭa pillar inscription tells us that in the sixth century A.D., Kîrtivarman I of the "Chalikya" dynasty gained victories over the kings of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha, etc.

A new power was rising in the upper Ganges valley which was destined to engage in a death grapple with the Guptas for the mastery of northern India. This was the Mukhara or **Maukhari**[1] power. The Maukharis claimed descent from the hundred sons whom king Asvapati got from Vaivasvata, *i.e.*, Yama (not Manu). The family consisted of two distinct groups. The stone inscriptions of one group have been discovered in the Jaunpur and Bārā Bankī districts of the United Provinces, while the stone inscriptions of the other group have been discovered in the Gayā district of Bihār. The Maukharis of Gayā namely Yajñavarman, Śārdūlavarman and Anantavarman were a feudatory family. Śārdūla is expressly called sāmanta chūḍāmaṇi in the Barābar Hill Cave Inscription of his son.[2] The Maukharis of the United Provinces[3] were also probably feudatories at first. The earliest princes of this family, *viz.*, Harivarman, Ādityavarman, and Īśvaravarman were simply Mahārājas. Ādityavarman's wife was Harsha Guptā, probably a sister of king Harsha Gupta. The wife of his son and successor Īśvaravarman was also probably a Gupta princess named Upa-Guptā. In the Harāhā inscription **Īsānavarman**, son of Īśvaravarman and Upa-Guptā, claims victories over the **Andhras**[4], the **Śulikas**

[1] The family was called both Mukhara and Maukhari. "Soma-Sūrya-vaṁśāviva Pushpabhūti Mukhara Vaṁśau," "Sakalabhuvana namaskṛito Maukhari Vaṁśaḥ" (Harshacharita, Parab's ed., pp. 141, 146). *Cf.* also CII., p. 229.

[2] CII., p. 223.

[3] In literature the Maukhari line of U.P. is associated with the city of Kanauj which may have been the capital. *Cf.* C. V. Vaidya, Mediaeval Hindu India, I, pp. 9, 33; Aravamuthan, the Kaveri, the Maukharis and the Samgam Age, p. 101.

[4] The victory over the Andhras is also alluded to in the Jaunpur stone inscription (CII. p. 230) which also seems to refer to a conflict with Dhārā, the capital of western Mālava (?).

and the **Gauḍas** and is the first to assume the Imperial title of Mahārājādhirāja. It was this which probably brought him into conflict with king Kumāra Gupta III. Thus began a duel between the Maukharis and the Guptas which ended only when the latter with the help of the Gauḍas wiped out the Maukhari power in the time of Grahavarman, brother-in-law of Harshavardhana.

We have seen that **Īśānavarman's** mother and grandmother were Gupta princesses. The mother of Prabhākaravardhana, the other empire-builder of the second half of the sixth century, was also a Gupta princess. It seems that the Gupta marriages in this period were as efficacious in stimulating imperial ambition[1] as the Lichchhavi marriages of more ancient times.

Kumāra Gupta III claims to have "churned that formidable milk-ocean, the cause of the attainment of fortune, which was the army of the glorious **Īśānavarman**, a very moon among kings."[2] This was not an empty boast, for the Maukhari records do not claim any victory over the Guptas. Kumāra Gupta III's funeral rites took place at Prayāga which probably formed a part of his dominions.

The son and successor of this king was **Dāmodara Gupta**. He continued the struggle with the Maukharis[3] and fell fighting against them. "Breaking up the

1 *Cf.* Hoernle, JRAS., 1903, p. 557.

2 Aphsaḍ Ins.

3 The Maukhari opponent of Dāmodara Gupta was either Sūryavarman or Śarvavarman (both being sons of Iśānavarman). A Sūryavarman is described in the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahāśiva Gupta as "born in the unblemished family of the Varmans great on account of their Ādhipatya (supremacy) over Magadha." If this Sūryavarman be identical with, or a descendant of, Sūryavarman, the son of Iśānavarman, then it is certain that for a time the supremacy of Magadha passed from the hands of the Guptas to that of the Maukharis. The Deo-Baraṇārk Inscription (Shāhābad District) of Jīvita Gupta II also suggests (CII., pp. 216-218) that the Maukharis Śarvavarman and Avantivarman held a considerable part of Magadha some time after Bālāditya-deva. After the loss of Magadha the later Guptas were apparently confined to "Mālava," till Mahāsena Gupta once more pushed his conquests as far as the Lauhitya.

proudly stepping array of mighty elephants, belonging to the Maukhari, which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the **Huṇas** (in order to trample them to death), he became unconscious (and expired in the fight)."

Dāmodara Gupta was succeeded by his son **Mahāsena Gupta.** He is probably the king of Mālava mentioned in the Harsha-charita whose sons Kumāra Gupta and Mādhava Gupta were appointed to wait upon Rājya-vardhana and Harsha-vardhana by their father, king Prabhākara-vardhana of the Pushpabhūti family of Śrîkaṇṭha (Thānēsar). The intimate relation between the family of Mahāsena Gupta and that of Prabhākara-vardhana is proved by the Madhuban grant and the Sonpat copper seal inscription of Harsha which represent Mahāsena Guptā Devî as the mother of Prabhākara, and the Aphsaḍ inscription of Ādityasēna which alludes to the association of Mādhava Gupta, son of Mahāsena Gupta with Harsha.

The Pushpabhūti alliance of Mahāsena Gupta was probably due to his fear of the rising power of the Maukharis. The policy was eminently successful, and during his reign we do not hear of any struggle with that family. But a new danger threatened from the east. A strong monarchy was at this time established in **Kāmarūpa** by a line of princes who claimed descent from Bhagadatta. King Susthitavarman[1] of this family came into conflict with Mahāsena Gupta and was defeated. "The mighty fame of Mahāsena Gupta," says the Aphsaḍ inscription, "marked with honour of victory in war over the illustrious Susthitavarman.....is still constantly sung on the banks of the river Lohitya."

[1] See the Nidhanapur plates. A writer in the JRAS. (1928) revives the theory that Susthitavarman was a Maukhari and not a King of Kāmarūpa. But no Maukhari king of that name is known. The association of Susthitavarman with the river Lohitya clearly shows that the king of that name mentioned in the Nidhanapur plates is meant.

Between Mahāsena Gupta, the contemporary of Prabhākara-vardhana, and his youngest son Mādhava Gupta the contemporary of Harsha, we have to place a king named **Deva Gupta** II [1] who is mentioned by name in the Madhuban and Banskhera inscriptions of Harsha as the most prominent among the kings "who resembled wicked horses" who were all subdued by Rājya-vardhana. As the Gupta princes are uniformly connected with Mālava in the Harsha-charita there can be no doubt that the wicked Deva Gupta is identical with the wicked Lord of Mālava who cut off Grahavarman Maukhari, and who was himself defeated "with ridiculous ease" by Rājya-vardhana. It is difficult to determine the position of Deva Gupta in the dynastic list of the Guptas. He may have been the eldest son of Mahāsena Gupta, and an elder brother of Kumāra Gupta and Mādhava Gupta.[2] His name is omitted in the Aphsaḍ list, just as the name of Skanda Gupta is omitted in the Bhitarī list.

Shortly before his death, king Prabhākara-vardhana had given his daughter Rājyaśrî in marriage to Grahavarman the eldest son of the Maukhari king Avantivarman. The alliance of the Pushpabhūtis with the sworn enemies of his family must have alienated Deva Gupta, who formed a counter-alliance with the Gauḍas whose hostility towards the Maukharis dated from the reign of Īśānavarman. The Gupta king and the Gauḍa king, Śaśāṅka, made a joint attack on the Maukhari kingdom. "Grahavarman was by the wicked lord of Mālava cut off from the living along with his noble deeds. Rājyaśrī also, the princess, was confined like a brigand's wife with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet and cast into prison at Kanyākubja." "The villain, deeming the army leaderless purposes to invade and seize this country as well." [3] Rājya-vardhana,

1 The Emperor Chandra Gupta II was Deva Gupta I.

2 Hoernle, JRAS., 1903, p. 562.

3 Harshacharita.

though he routed the Mālava army "with ridiculous ease," was "allured to confidence by false civilities on the part of the king of Gauḍa, and then weaponless, confiding and alone despatched in his own quarters."

To meet the formidable league between the Guptas and the Gauḍas, Harsha, the successor of Rājya-vardhana, concluded an alliance with Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa, whose father Susthitavarman had fought against the predecessor of Deva Gupta. This alliance was disastrous for the Gauḍas as we know from the Nidhanapur plates of Bhāskara. At the time of the issuing of the plates Bhāskaravarman was in possession of Karṇasuvarṇa, the capital of the Gauḍa king, Śaśāṅka. The Gauḍa people, however, did not tamely acquiesce in the loss of their independence. They became a thorn in the side of Kanauj and Kāmarūpa, and their hostility towards those two powers was inherited by the Pāla and Sēna successors of Śaśāṅka.

During the long reign of Harsha, **Mādhava Gupta**, the successor of Deva Gupta, remained a subordinate ally of Kanauj. After Harsha's death the Gupta empire was revived by **Ādityasena**, a prince of remarkable vigour and ability, who found his opportunity in the commotion which followed the usurpation of Harsha's throne by Arjuna(?). For this king we have a number of inscriptions which prove that he ruled over a wide territory extending to the shores of the oceans. The Aphsaḍ, Shāhpur and Mandār inscriptions recognise his undisputed possession of south and east Bihār. Another inscription, noticed by Fleet,[1] describes him as the ruler of the whole earth up to the shores of the oceans, and the performer of the Aśvamedha and the other great sacrifices. The then Maukhari chief, Bhogavarman, accepted the hands of his daughter and

1 CII., p. 213 n.

presumably became his subordinate ally.[1] The Dēō-Baraṇārk inscription refers to the Jayaskandhāvāra of his great-grandson Jîvita Gupta II at Gomatîkoṭṭaka. This clearly suggests that the Later Guptas, and not the Maukharis, dominated about this time the Gomatî valley in the Madhyadeśa. The Mandāra inscription applies to Âdityasena the titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājādhirāja. We learn from the Shāhpur stone image inscription that he was ruling in the year A.D. 672-73. It is not improbable that he or his son Deva Gupta III is the Sakalottarā-patha-nātha, who was defeated by the Chalukya kings Vinayāditya (A.D. 680-696) and Vijayāditya.[2]

We learn from the Dēō-Baraṇārk inscription that Âdityasena was succeeded by his son **Deva Gupta** (III), who in his turn was succeeded by his son **Vishṇu Gupta**, who is probably identical with Viṣṇu Gupta Chandrāditya of the coins.[3] The last king was **Jīvita Gupta II,** son of Viṣṇu. All these kings continued to assume imperial titles. That these were not empty forms appears from the records of the Western Chalukyas of Vātāpi which testify to the existence of a Pan-North Indian empire in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. The only North Indian sovereigns (Uttarāpatha-nātha), who laid claim to the imperial dignity during this period, and actually dominated Magadha and the Madhyadeśa as is proved by the Aphsaḍ and Dēō-Baraṇārk inscriptions, were Âdityasena and his successors.[4]

The Gupta empire was probably finally destroyed by the Gauḍas who could never forgive Mādhava Gupta's desertion of their cause. In the time of Yaśovarman of

1 Kielhorn, INI., 541.

2 Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, pp. 189, 368, 371; and Kendur plates.

3 Allan, Gupta Coins, p. 145.

4 For a curious reference to the Chāḷukyas and king Jih-kwan ('Sun army,' *i.e.*, Âdityasena) see IA., X, 110.

Kanauj, *i.e.*, in the first half of the eighth century A.D., a Gauḍa king occupied the throne of Magadha.[1]

Petty Gupta dynasties, apparently connected with the imperial line, ruled in the Kanarese districts during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries A.D., and are frequently mentioned in inscriptions. Evidence of an earlier connection of the Guptas with the Kanarese country is furnished by the Tālagund inscription which says that Kākustha-varman of the Kadamba dynasty gave his daughters in marriage to the Guptas and other kings. In the sixth century A.D. the Vākāṭaka king Harishena, a descendant of Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya through his daughter Prabhāvatî Guptā, is said to have effected conquests in Kuntala, *i.e.*, the Kanarese country.[2] Curiously enough the Gutta or Gupta chiefs of the Kanarese country claimed descent from Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya,[3] lord of Ujjayinî.[4]

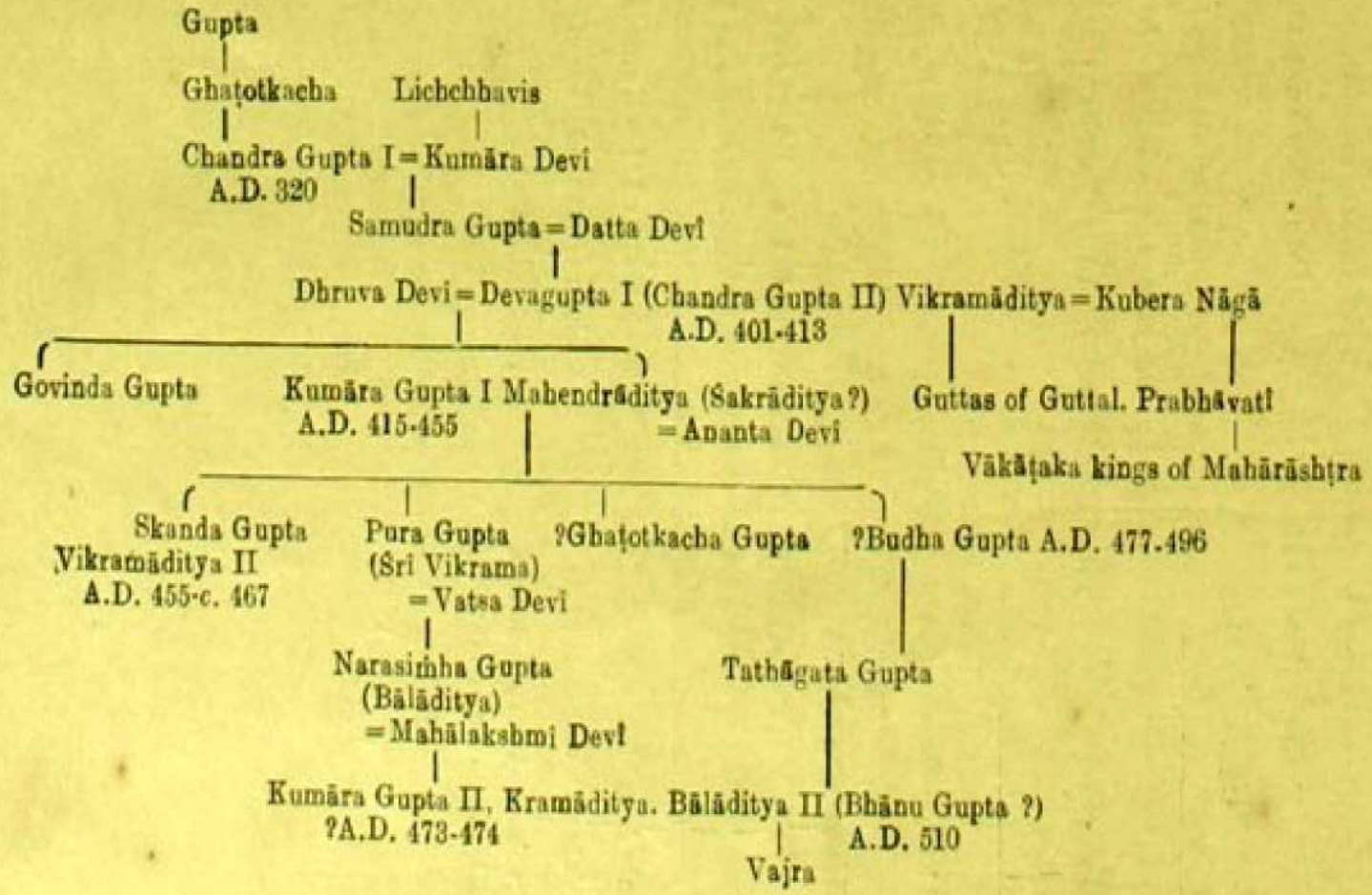
[1] *Cf.* the Gauḍavaho by Vākpatirāja. Banerji confounds the Gauḍas with the later Guptas, but *cf.* the Harāhā Ins.

[2] Jouveau-Dubreuil, AHD., p. 76.

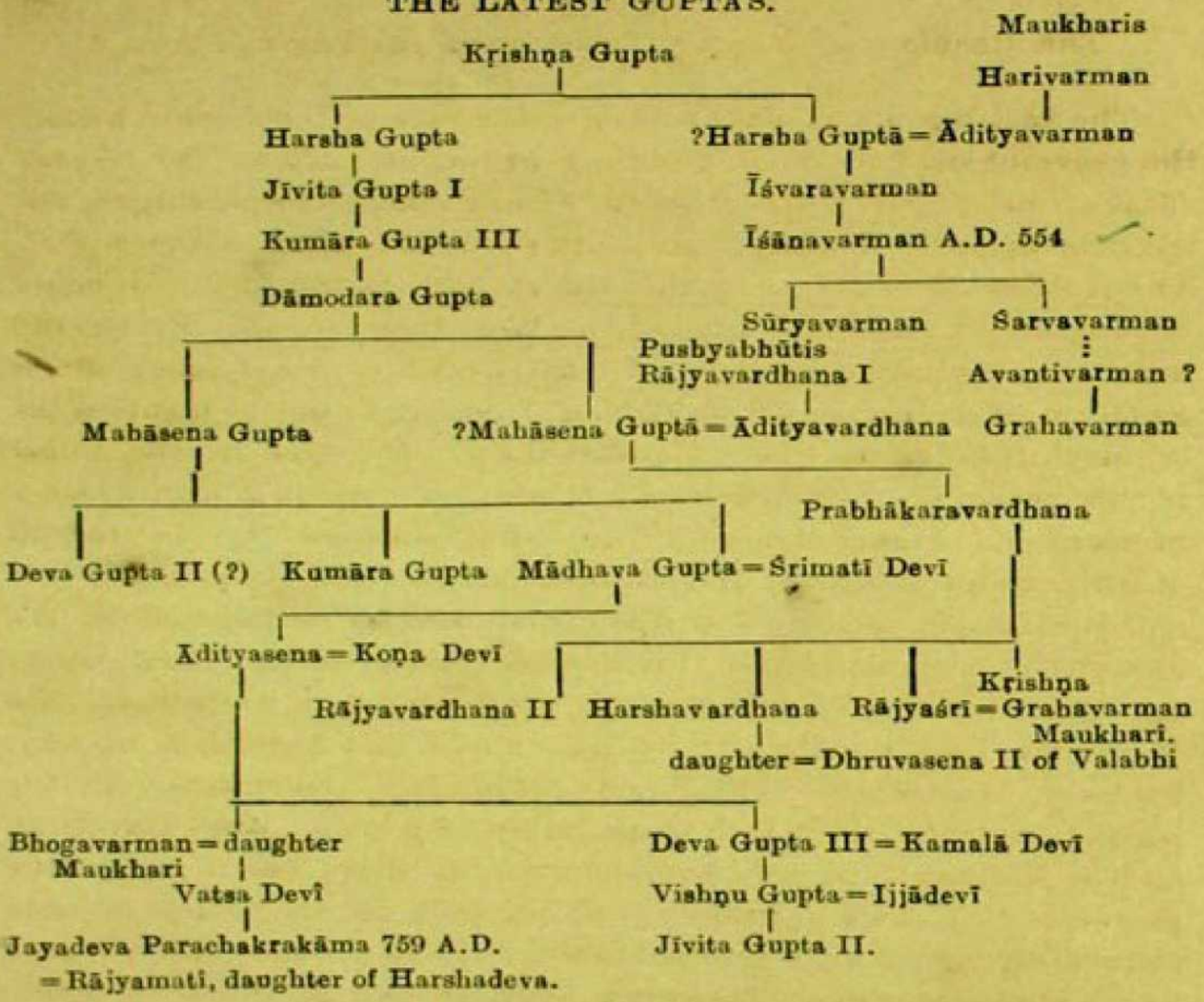
[3] Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, pp. 578-80. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, "A Peep into the Early History of India," p. 60. I owe this reference to Prof. Bhandarkar.

[4] The account of the Later Guptas was first published in the JASB., 1920, No. 7.

THE EARLY IMPERIAL GUPTAS.



THE LATEST GUPTAS.



APPENDIX A

The Results of Aśoka's Propaganda in Western Asia [1]

The vast region beyond the western frontiers of India came within the geographical horizon of Buddhist writers as early as the *Bāveru Jātaka*, and possibly the *Sussondi Jātaka*, and its princes figure not inconspicuously in Buddhist inscriptions of the third century B.C. The records of Aśoka show that the eyes of the imperial missionary of Magadha were turned more to the West than to the East; and even the traditional account of early Buddhist proselytising efforts given in the chronicles of Ceylon, [2] does not omit to mention the country of the Yonas where Mahārakkhita "delivered in the midst of the people the '*Kālakārāma suttanta*,' in consequence of which a hundred and seventy thousand living beings attained to the reward of the path (of salvation) and ten thousand received the *pabbajjā*." It will perhaps be argued that the Yona country mentioned in the chronicles is to be identified with some district in the Kābul valley, and is not to be taken to refer to the realm of "Antiochos,[3] the Yona king, and the kings, the neighbours of that Antiochos, namely, Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas and Alexander," mentioned in the second and the thirteenth Rock Edicts of Aśoka. Rhys Davids, in fact, is inclined to regard the declaration in these edicts about the success of Aśoka's missionary propaganda in the realms of Yona princes as mere "royal rhodomontade." "It is quite likely," says he, "that the Greek kings are only thrown in by way of make-weight, as it were; and that no emissaries had been actually sent there at all."[4]

1 Extract from an article published in the *Buddhistic Studies* (ed. B. C. Law).

2 *Mahāvaṁsa*, Ch. XII.

3 Recently Dr. Jarl Charpentier has contributed a paper to *A Volume of Indian Studies presented to Professor E. J. Rapson* in which he suggests that "Antiyaka" referred to by Aśoka is Antiochos Soter (*c.* 281-61), and not his son Antiochos Theos (261-46). But his theory requires that Chandragupta ascended the throne in 327-5 B. C., that he was identical with Xandrames and that the story of his visit to Alexander (recorded by Justin and Plutarch) is a myth. The theory is opposed not only to the evidence of Justin and Plutarch, but to the known facts about the ancestry of Chandragupta.

4 *Buddhist India*, p. 298.

Alberuni,[1] however, writing in the eleventh century A.D. says, "In former times Khurāsān, Persis, Irāk, Mosul, the country up to the frontier of Syria, was Buddhistic, but then Zarathustra went forth from Ādharbaijān and preached Magism in Balkh (Baktra). His doctrine came into favour with king Gushtasp, and his son Isfendiyād spread the new faith both in East and West, both by force and by treaties. He founded fire-temples through his whole Empire, from the frontiers of China to those of the Greek Empire. The succeeding kings made their religion (*i.e.*, Zoroastrianism) the obligatory state-religion for Persis and Irāk. In consequence, the Buddhists were banished from those countries, and had to emigrate to the countries east of Balkh.....Then came Islam." The above account may not be correct in all its particulars. The statement that Buddhism flourished in the countries of Western Asia before Zoroaster is clearly wrong. But the prevalence of the religion of Śākyamuni in parts of Western Asia in a period considerably anterior to Alberuni, and its supersession by Zoroastrianism and Islam may well be based upon fact. The antagonism of Buddhism to the fire-cult is hinted at in the *Bhūridatta Jātaka* (No. 543). It has even been suggested that Zoroastrian scriptures allude to disputes with the Buddhists.[2]

Four centuries before Alberuni, Hiuen Tsang bore witness to the fact that Lang-kie (ka)-lo, a country subject to Persia, contained above 100 monasteries and more than 6,000 Brethren who applied themselves to the study of the Great and Little "Vehicles." Persia (Po-la-sse) itself contained two or three Saṅghārāmas, with several hundred priests, who principally studied the teaching of the Little Vehicle according to the Sarvāstivādin school. The *pātra* of Śākya Buddha was in this country, in the King's palace.[3]

The Chinese pilgrim did not probably personally visit Persia. But no doubt need be entertained regarding the existence of Buddhist communities and Saṅghārāmas in Irān. Stein discovered a Buddhist monastery in "the terminal marshes of the Helmund" in Seistān.[4] Mānī, the founder of the Manichæan religion, who was born in A.D. 215-16, at Ctesiphon in Babylonia, and began to preach his gospel probably in A.D. 242, shows unmistakable traces of Buddhist

[1] Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 21.

[2] Sir Charles Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, III, 450.

[3] Beal, *Records of the Western World*, vol. II, pp. 277-278; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, 257.

[4] Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, 3.

influence.[1] In his book *Shābūrqān* (*Shapurakhan*) he speaks of the Buddha as a messenger of God. Legge and Eliot refer to a Manichæan treatise which has the form of a Buddhist Sūtra. It speaks of Mānī as the Tathāgata and mentions Buddhas and the Bodhisattva. In his *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*[2] Dr. Vincent Smith refers to a picture of a four-armed Buddhist saint or Bodhisattva in the guise of a Persian with black beard and whiskers, holding a thunderbolt (vajra) in his left hand, which had been found at a place called Dandān-Uiliq in Turkistan. Such figures are undoubtedly the products of a type of Buddhism which must have developed in Irān, and enjoyed considerable popularity as late as the eighth century A.D. which is the date assigned by Dr. Smith to the fresco or distemper paintings on wood and plaster discovered at Dandān-Uiliq.

It is difficult to say to what extent Buddhist literature made its influence felt in Western Asia. Sir Charles Eliot points out the close resemblance between certain Manichæan works and the Buddhist *Suttas* and the *Pātimokkha*, and says that according to Cyril of Jerusalem, the Manichæan scriptures were written by one Scythianus and revised by his disciple Terebinthus who changed his name to Boddas.[3] He finds in this " jumble " allusions to Buddha, Sākyamuni and the Bo-tree. It may further be pointed out that some *Jātaka* tales show a surprising similarity to some of the stories in the *Arabian Nights*. The *Samugga Jātaka* (No. 436), for instance, tells the story of the demon who put his beautiful wife in a box and guarded her in this manner in order that she might not go astray. But this did not prevent her from taking pleasure with others. The tale in all its essentials recurs in the *Arabian Nights*.[4]

1 *Ibid*, p. 446; *The Dacca University Journal*, Feb., 1926, pp. 108, 111; *JRAS.*, 1913, 69, 76, 81.

2 P. 310.

3 *Cf.* Mc. Crindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 185.

" Terebinthus proclaimed himself learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians and gave out that his name was no longer Terebinthus but that he was a new Buddha (Buddas) and that he was born of a virgin. Terebinthus was the disciple of Scythianus, who was a Saracen born in Palestine and who traded with India."

4 Olcott, *Stories from the Arabian Nights*, p. 3; Lane's *Arabian Nights*, pp. 8-9. A similar story is found in Lambaka X, taraṅga 8 of the Kathā-sarit-sāgara; Penzer, The *Ocean of Story*, Vol. V, pp. 151-152. " So attachment to women, the result of infatuation, produces misery to all men. But indifference to them produces in the discerning emancipation from the bonds of existence."

The *Jātaka* verse,

" He his true bliss in solitude will find,
Afar from woman and her treachery "

is comparable to the statement of the poet in the *Arabian Nights*:

" Never trust in women; nor rely upon their vows;
For their pleasure and displeasure depend upon their passions.
They offer a false affection; for perfidy lurks within their clothing."

Whatever may be the case at the present day, in times gone by, Western Asia was clearly not altogether outside the sphere of the intellectual and spiritual conquests of Buddhism.

APPENDIX B

A Note on the Chronological Relation of Kanishka and Rudradāman I.

In IHQ, v, No. 1, March, 1929, pp. 49-80, and JBORS, xv, parts i & ii, March-June, 1929, pp. 47-63, Mr. Hari Charan Ghosh and Professor Jaychandra Vidyalankar contributed two very interesting notes on the date of Kanishka. The latter upholds the theory of Dr. Sten Konow, fortified by the calculations of Dr. Van Wijk, that the great Kushān Emperor began his rule in A. D. 128-9, and criticises the view put forward in this work that Kanishka I's rule in the "Lower Indus Valley" (this, and not "Sind," is the expression actually used) could not have synchronised with that of Rudradāman I, who "did not owe his position as Mahākshatrapa to anybody else." The conclusions of Professor Konow and Dr. Van Wijk are admittedly hypothetical, and little more need be said about them after the illuminating observations of Professor Rapson in JRAS, 1930, January, pp. 186-202. In the present note we shall confine ourselves to an examination of the criticism of Professor Jayachandra Vidyalankara and Mr. Haricharan Ghosh of the views expressed in the preceding pages.

The Professor has not a word to say about the contention that "Kanishka's dates 1-23, Vāsishka's dates 24-28, Huvishka's dates 31-60, and Vāsudeva's dates 74-98 suggest a continuous reckoning. In other words, Kanishka was the originator of an era. But we know of no era current in North-West India which commenced in the Second Century A.D." He only takes considerable pain to prove that Rudradāman's sway over Sindhu-Sauvīra (which he identifies with modern Sind) between 130 and 150 A.D. does not imply control over Sui Vihār and Multān, and consequently Kanishka's sovereignty over Sui Vihār in the year 11 of an era starting from 128-9 A.D., *i.e.*, in or about 140 A.D., is not irreconcilable with the rule of the Great Satrap in Sindhu-Sauvīra at about the same time. He is not oblivious of the difficulty of harmonising this limitation of Rudradāman's power with the known fact of the Great Satrap's campaign against the Yaudheyas in the course of which he claims to have uprooted that powerful tribe "in their country proper which was to the north of Suē Vihār" and, according to the theory advocated by the Professor, "formed part of Kanishka's dominions" at that time. He meets

the difficulty by saying that " the pressure of the Kauṣāna armies from the north had driven the Yaudheyas to the desert of Marwar." Such surmises to explain away inconvenient details, are, to say the least, not convincing, especially in view of the fact that Maru finds separate mention in the inscription of Rudradāman, as a territory under the rule of the mighty Satrap.

But is the contention of the Professor that Sindhu-Sauvīra did not include the country up to Multān correct? Alberuni, who based his assertions on the geographical data of the Purāṇas and the Bṛihat-saṃhitā, made the clear statement that Sauvīra was equivalent to Multān and Jahrāvār (I. 302). Against this, Professor Vidyalankar quotes the evidence of Yuan Chwang who says that in his days " Mou-lo-san-pu-lu," *i.e.* Mūla-sthāna-pura or Multān was a dependency of the " Che-ka " or Takka country in the C. Pañjāb. It should be noted, however, that the Chinese pilgrim is referring to political dependence, and not geographical inclusion. India is a dependency of Great Britain. But geographically it is not a part of the British Isles. On the other hand, Alberuni does not give the slightest hint that what he actually means by the equation " Sauvīra, *i.e.*, Multān and Jahrāvār " is political subjection of Multān to Sind. His account here is purely geographical, and he is merely giving the names of the countries, as taken from the Saṃhitā of Varāhamihira with his own comments. Far from making Multān a political dependency of Sind, he carefully distinguishes " Sauvīra, *i.e.*, Multān and Jahrāvār " from " Sindhu " which is mentioned separately.

The view that ancient Sauvīra was confined to Southern Sind and that Sindhu and Sauvīra together correspond to modern Sind, and nothing but Sind, is unsupported by any early evidence. Yuan Chwang went east from Sin-tu above 900 li and, crossing to the east bank of the Indus, came to the Mou-lo-san-pu-lu country (Watters, II. 254). This proves that Sin-tu lay to the *west* of Mou-lo-san-pu-lu (Multān), and was situated on the *west* side of the Indus. The commentator of the Kāmasūtras of Vātsyāyana makes the clear statement (Benares edition, p. 295) सैन्धवानामिति। सिन्धुनामा नदस्तस्य पश्चिमेन सिन्ध्वादेशस्तत्र भवानाम्। The major part of modern Sind was clearly outside the geographical (as opposed to political) limits of ancient " Sin-tu " or Sindhu and was, in the days of Yuan Chwang, included in the countries of A-tien-p'o-chih-lo, Pi-to-shih-lo, and A-fan-tu. Part of the modern territory of Sind may have been included in Sauvīra whose southern limits undoubtedly reached the sea, because the *Milinda-Pañho* mentions it in a list of countries where " ships do

congregate." We are informed by the author of the *Periplus* that ships lie at anchor at Barbaricum " (at the mouth of the Indus). But the evidence of Alberuni leaves no room for doubt that the northern limits of Sauvīra reached Multān. A scholar like Alberuni thoroughly conversant with Purāṇic lore, is not likely to make an unwarranted statement. In fact the inclusion of Multān within Sauvīra receives striking confirmation from some of the Purāṇas. The *Skandapurāṇa*, for instance (*Prabhāsa-kshetra-māhātmya*, Ch. 278), referring to the famous temple of the Sun at Mūla-sthāna or Multān, says that it stood on the banks of the river Devikā (Devikātaṭa) : —

ततो गच्छेन्महादेवि मूलस्थानमिति श्रुतम् । देविकायास्तटे रम्ये भास्करं वारितस्करम् ॥

In the *Agnipurāṇa* (Ch. 200) the Devikā is brought into special relations with the realm of Sauvīra : —

सौवीरराजस्य पुरा मैत्रेयोभूऽ पुरोहितः । तेन चायतनं विष्णोः कारितं देविकातटे ॥

According to Yuan Chwang, Sin-tu and Multān were neighbouring countries lying on opposite sides of the Indus. This is quite in accordance with the close association of Sindhu and Sauvīra in early literature.

पतिः सौवीरसिन्धूनां दुष्टभावो जयद्रथः (Mbh. III, Ch. 266)
कश्चिदेकः शिबीनाञ्चान् सौवीरान् सह सिन्धुभिः (Mbh. III, Ch. 266)
शिविसौवीरसिन्धूनां विषादश्चाप्यजायत (Mbh. III, Ch. 270).

Rudradāman's mastery over Sindhu and Sauvīra (in the sense in which these terms were understood by the Purāṇas, the commentator on the Kāmasūtras of Vātsyāyana, Yuan Chwang and Alberuni) is clearly irreconcilable with the simultaneous sovereignty of Kanishka over Sui Vihār.

Apart from the identification of Sauvīra with Multān and Jahrāvār, is it unreasonable to hold that a power which exercised sway over ancient Sindhu and Maru, and fought with the Yaudheyas of Johiyawār, had the Sui Vihār region under its control?

In IHQ, 1929, p. 79, Mr. H. C. Ghosh asserts that it cannot be proved that Rudradāman held Sindhu and Sauvīra sometime from 136 A.D. at least. He also thinks that the argument that Kanishka started an era " involves a *petitio principii*." Now, we know that by 150 A.D. Rudradāman was " the lord of the whole of eastern and western Ākarāvanti, Anupanivṛid, Ānartta, Surāshṭra, Svabhra, Maru, Kachchha, Sindhu, Sauvīra, Kukura, Aparānta, Nishāda, and other territories gained by his own valour." The conquest of so many countries must have taken a long time, and the Andhau inscriptions show that one of the countries, at any rate, namely Kachchha, had

come under the sway of the Great Satrap as early as 130 A.D. On p. 277 of the *Political History of Ancient India* (second edition) it has been pointed out that " the name of the capital of Scythia (*i.e.*, the Lower Indus Valley) in the time of the Periplus was Minnagara, and this was evidently derived from the city of Min in Śakasthāna mentioned by Isidore. Rapson points out that one of the most characteristic features in the names of the western Kshatrapas of Cashṭana's line, *viz.*, " Dāman " (-dama) is found also in the name of a prince of the Drangianian house of Vonones. Lastly, the Kārddamaka family, from which the daughter of the Mahākshatrapa Rudra claimed descent, apparently derived its name from the Kārddama river in Persia."

The facts noted above indicate that the Śaka sept to which Cashṭana and Rudradāman belonged came from Śakasthāna in Irān through the Lower Indus valley to Cutch and other places in Western India. In view of this and the contiguity of Cutch to the Lower Indus valley, it is permissible to think that the date of the conquest of Sindhu and Sauvīra could not have been far removed from, and may have even preceded, that of Cutch (Kachchha). As the Great Satrap retained his hold on these provinces till 150 A.D. it stands to reason that he was their ruler from *c.* 136 A.D.

As to the second contention of Mr. Ghosh, it may be pointed out that Kanishka's dates 1-23, Vashiska's dates 24-28, Huvishka's dates 31-60, and Vāsudeva's dates 74-98, do suggest a continuous reckoning. To deny that Kanishka started an era is tantamount to saying that the dates of his successors Vāsishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva are regnal years. But no serious student will contend that Vāsudeva's dates 74-98 are to be taken as regnal years.

APPENDIX C

A Note on the Later Guptas [1]

It was recently urged by Professor R. D. Banerjee that Mahāsena Gupta of the Aphsaḍ inscription, father of Mādhava Gupta, the associate of Harsha, could not have been a king of East Mālava, and secondly, that Susthitavarman whose defeat at the hands of Mahāsena Gupta, in the Lohita or Lauhitya region, is mentioned in the Aphsaḍ inscription, was not a Maukhari, but a king of Kāmarūpa.

The second proposition will be readily accepted by all careful students of the Aphsaḍ epigraph and the Nidhanpur plate inscription, though some western scholars are still, I know not why, of a contrary opinion (JRAS, 1928, July, pages 689f.). As to the first point, *viz.*, whether Mahāsena Gupta was a direct ruler of East Mālava or of Magadha, a student will have to take note of the following facts:—

(*i*) In the Dêô-Baraṇārk Inscription of Jīvita Gupta II, which records the continuance of the grant of a village in South Bihār, we have reference to Bālāditya-deva, and after him, to the Maukharis Sarva-varman and Avanti-varman. Not a word is said about their later Gupta contemporaries in connection with the previous grants of the village. The inscription is no doubt damaged, but the sovereignty of Sarva-varman and Avanti-varman undoubtedly precludes the possibility of the direct rule of their contemporaries of the later Gupta line.

(*ii*) Inscriptions discovered in the Barābar and Nāgārjuni hill caves disclose the existence of another line of Maukhari "Varmans" who were feudatory (sāmanta) chiefs of the Gayā district in the time of the later Guptas.

(*iii*) Yuan Chwang who visited Magadha in the time of Harsha mentions Purṇa-varman as the occupant of the throne of Magadha (Watters, ii, 115). He does not say a word about Mādhava Gupta or his father in connection with Magadha.

(*iv*) Bāṇa, indeed, refers to Mādhava Gupta, the associate of Harsha, but he expressly mentions his father as the king of Mālava, and not of Magadha. The existence of two

[1] Extract from an article published in JBORS., Sept.-Dec., 1929.

associates of Harsha, each bearing the name of Mādhava Gupta, one of whom was the son of a king of Magadha, is not known to the biographer of the great emperor.

From the evidence adduced above two facts emerge, *viz.*, that the father of the only Mādhava Gupta whom the biographer of Harsha knew to be the associate of his royal patron, was a king of Mālava, and that in the time of Harsha and a little before it, direct control over Magadha was exercised, not by the Guptas, but by the "Varmans." The memory of "Varman" *ādhipatya* (supremacy) over Magadha had not died away even in the time of the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahāśiva Gupta.

The only relevant argument that Professor Banerji urged against the view that Mahāsena Gupta, the father of Mādhava Gupta, the associate of Harsha, was "*probably*" (*Political History of Ancient India, Second Edition*, page 373) a king of Mālava, is that "it was impossible for a king of Mālava to reach the banks of the Lauhitya without strenuous opposition from the kings" who governed the intervening region. But how did Professor Banerji solve the problem? By making Mahāsena Gupta king of Magadha, and *assuming* that "Assam very probably lay on his frontier and Rādhā and Vanga or Mithilā and Varendra were included in his kingdom." Anything in the nature of a proof he failed to give, but we were asked to accept his surmise because "in this case only is it possible for Mahāsena Gupta to have fought with Susthitavarman of Assam."

Regarding the possibility of a king of Mālava carrying his arms to the banks of the Lauhitya, attention may be invited to the Mandaśor inscription of Yaśodharman. In the case of Mahāsena Gupta a careful student of the Aphsaḍ inscription cannot fail to note that the way before him had been prepared by his immediate predecessors. Kumāra Gupta, his grand-father, had pushed to Prayāga, while Dāmodara Gupta, father of Mahāsena Gupta, claims to have "broken up the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants, belonging to the Maukhari"—the same power which, we have already seen, held control of Magadha a little before Harsha. The Gauḍa expansion had already been stopped for a time by the victories of Īśānavarman Maukhari. What was there to prevent the son of Dāmodara Gupta (who must have assumed command after the death of his father on the battle field) [1] from pushing on to the Lauhitya ?

[1] *Cf.* Fleet, *Corpus III*, pp. 203, 206.

APPENDIX D

The Decline of the Early Gupta Empire.[1]

Towards the close of the fifth century A.D. the empire built up by the genius of Samudra Gupta and Vikramāditya was fast hastening towards dissolution. Skanda Gupta (A.D. 455-*c.* 467) was the last king of the Early Gupta line who is known to have controlled the westernmost provinces. After A.D. 467 there is no evidence that the Imperial Guptas had anything to do with Surāshṭra or even Western Mālwa. Budha Gupta (A.D. 476-477 to 495-96) was probably the last prince of the family to be implicitly obeyed on the banks of the Lower Ganges as well as the Narmadā. The rulers who came after him retained a precarious hold for some time on Eastern Mālwa and North Bengal. But they had to fight with enemies on all sides, and, if a tradition recorded by Jinasena (Harivaṁśa, ch. 60), is to be believed, their power collapsed in A.D. 551 (320 + 231):

> Guptānāṁ cha śata-dvayam
> eka-triṁśa chcha varshāṇi
> kāla-vidbhir udāhṛtam.[2]

The supremacy over Āryāvarta then passed to the houses of Mukhara (*cir.* A.D. 554)[3] and Pushyabhūti (family of Harsha, A.D. 606-647) under whom the centre of political gravity shifted from Magadha to Kanauj. Attempts were no doubt made by a line of later Guptas to restore the fallen fortunes of their family, but these were not crowned with success till after the death of Harsha.

The causes of the decline of the early Gupta Empire are not far to seek, though a detailed presentation of facts is impossible in view of the paucity of contemporary records. The broad outline of the story is, however, perfectly clear. The same causes were at work which proved so disastrous to the Turki Sultanate of Delhi in the fourteenth century, and to the so-called Mughul Empire in the eighteenth, *viz.*, outbreak of rebellions within, devastating invasions from without and dissensions in the imperial family itself.

1 First published in the Calcutta Review, April, 1930.

2 Ind. Ant., 1886, 142; Bhand. Com. Vol., 195.

3 Ep. Ind., XIV, pp. 110-120; JRAS., 1906, 843 f.

Already in the time of Kumāra Gupta I, the stability of the empire was seriously threatened by a turbulent people whose name is commonly read as Pushya-mitra. The danger was averted by the crown prince Skanda Gupta. But a more formidable enemy appeared from the steppes of Central Asia. Inscriptions discovered at Bhitarī, Kura, Gwalior and Eran, as well as the records of several Chinese pilgrims, prove that shortly after the death of Kumāra Gupta I, the fierce Huns swooped down upon the north-western provinces of the empire and eventually made themselves masters of the Pañjāb and Eastern Mālwa.

The newcomers were long known to the people of India as a race of Uitlanders closely associated with the Chinese. The Mahāvastu I. 135, mentions them along with the Chînas, while the Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata (ii. 51. 23-24) includes them in a list of foreign tribes amongst whom the Chînas occupy the first place:—

Chînān Śakān tathā ch Odrān Varvarān Vanavāsinaḥ
Vārshṇeyān Hāra-Huṇāṁścha Kṛishṇān Haimavatāṁstathā.

A verse in the Bhīshmaparva (9. 65-66) brings the Huns into relations with the Pārasikas or Persians:—

Yavanāś Chîna Kāmbojā dāruṇā Mlechchhajātayaḥ
Sakṛidgrahāḥ Kulatthāścha Huṇāḥ Pārasikaiḥ saha.

This verse is reminiscent of the period when the Huns came into contact with the Sassanian dynasty of Persia.[1] Kālidasa, too, places the Huns close to Persia—in the saffron-producing country watered by the river Vaṅkshu, the modern Oxus.[2] Early in the reign of the Emperor Skanda Gupta they poured into the Gupta Empire, but were at first beaten back. The repulse of the Huns is mentioned in the Bhitarî Inscription and is also probably alluded to by the grammarian Chandragomin as a contemporary event.[3] With the passing away of Skanda Gupta, however, all impediments to the steady advance of the invaders seem to have been removed and, if Somadeva, a Jaina contemporary of Kṛishṇa III, Rāshṭrakūṭa, is to be believed, they penetrated into the Indian interior as far as Chitrakūṭa.[4] They certainly conquered the Eran district (Arikiṇa pradeśa) in the Central Provinces. The principal centres of their power in India, in the time of their kings Toramāṇa and Mihirakula, were

[1] Smith, EHI, 4th edition, p. 339.
[2] Ind. Ant., 1912, 265f.
[3] Ind. Ant., 1896, 105.
[4] Bhand. Com. Vol., 216.

Pavvaiyā (on the Chināb)[1] and Śākala (modern Siālkoṭ) in the Pañjāb.

Next to the Hun inroads must be mentioned the ambition of generals and feudatories. In the time of the Emperor Skanda Gupta, Surāshṭra was governed by a Goptṛi or Margrave named Parṇadatta, who was appointed by the emperor himself to the Viceroyalty of the West. Shortly afterwards, Bhaṭārka, a chief of the Maitraka clan, established himself in this province as general or military governor, with his capital probably at Valabhî. He, as well as his immediate successor, Dharasena I, was satisfied with the title of Senāpati, but the next chief Droṇasiṁha, the second son of Bhaṭārka (A.D. 502 ?) assumed the title of Mahārāja. A branch of the dynasty established itself in Mo-la-po (Mālavaka)[2] or the westernmost part of Mālwa in the latter half of the sixth century, and made extensive conquests in the direction of the Sahya and Vindhya Hills.[3] Another, and a junior, branch continued to rule at Valabhî. In the seventh century Dhruvasena II of Valabhî married the daughter of Harsha. His son Dharasena IV (A.D. 645-649) assumed the imperial titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Chakravartin.

But the Maitrakas of Mo-la-po and Valabhî were not the only feudatories who gradually assumed an independent position. The rulers of Mandasor pursued the same course, and their example was followed by the Maukharis of the Madhyadeśa and the kings of Navyāvakāśikā and Karṇasuvarṇa in Bengal.

1 JBORS, 1928, March, p. 33.

2 Smith, EHI, 4th edition, p. 343.

3 Dharasena II, king of Valabhî, left two sons, *viz.*, Śîlâditya I Dharmâditya and Kharagraha I. The account of Hiuen Tsang seems to suggest that in his time (*i.e.*, shortly after Śîlâditya) the Maitraka dominions split up into two parts, one part including Mo-la-po and its dependencies probably obeying the line of Śîlâditya Dharmâditya, the other part, including Valabhî, obeying Kharagraha and his sons, one of whom was Dhruvasena II, Bâlâditya or Dhruvabhaṭa, who married the daughter of Harsha of Kanauj. The account of the Chinese pilgrim seems to receive confirmation from the Alina plate of Śîlâditya VII (Fleet, c. i. i, 171 f.) which associates Derabhaṭa, the son of Śîlâditya I Dharmâditya, with the region of the Sahya and Vindhya mountains, while the descendants of Kharagraha I are connected with Valabhî. The Navalakhi and Nogâwâ plates, however, suggest that occasionally the same ruler governed both Mâlavaka and Valabhî. In the latter half of the seventh century A.D. the line of Kharagraha I became extinct, and the Maitraka dominions were once more united. For an alleged connection of the Valabhî dynasty with the Kanarese country, see Moraes, *Kadamba-kula*, 64 *f.*

Mandasor, the ancient Daśapura, was one of the most important Viceregal seats of the Early Gupta Empire. It was the capital of a long line of margraves who governed part of western Mālwa on behalf of the Emperor Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya and his son Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya. With the sixth century A.D., however, a new scene opened. Yaśodharman, ruler of Mandasor about A.D. 533, emboldened no doubt by his success over the Huns, defied the power of his Gupta overlords (Guptanātha), and set up Pillars of victory commemorating his conquests, which, in the words of his court panegyrist, embraced the whole of Hindusthān from the river Lauhitya, or the Brahmaputra, to the Western Ocean, and from the Himālayas to the mountain Mahendra or the Eastern Ghāṭs. After his death the Guptas figure again as lords of Mālava (Eastern Mālwa) in literature and inscriptions of the time of Harsha. But Western Mālwa could not be recovered by the family. Part of it was, as we have already seen, included within the dominions of the Maitrakas. Another part, *viz.*, Avanti or the district round Ujjain, the proud capital of Vikramāditya and Mahendrāditya in the fifth century A.D., [1] is found in the next century in the possession of Saṁkaragaṇa of the Katachchhuri or Kalachuri dynasty [2] which gave way to a Brāhmaṇa family in the days of Hiuen Tsang, [3] which, in its turn, was replaced by the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Gurjara Pratihāras in the eighth century. [4]

Another family which came to the forefront in the sixth century A.D., was the line of the Mukharas or Maukharis. The stone inscriptions of the princes of this dynasty prove their control over the Bārā Banki, Jaunpur and Gayā districts of the United Provinces and Bihār. All these territories formed integral parts of the Gupta Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. In the next century they must have passed into the hands of the Maukharis. The

[1] Somadeva's Kathā-sarit-sāgara, Bk. XVIII; Allan, Gupta Coins, xlix n; Bomb. Gaz. I, 2.578.

[2] G. Jouveau Dubreuil, Ancient History of the Deccan, 82.

[3] Watters, Yuan Chwang, ii, 250.

[4] Ind. Ant., 1886, 142; Ep. Ind., XVIII, 1926, 239 (verse 9 of Sañjam grant); *cf.* Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 177 (reference to a governor of Ujjain under the Pratihāra King Mahendrapāla II). In the Sanjam inscription it is claimed that at Ujjain an early Rāshṭrakūṭa king made the Gurjara and other lords his door-keeper. It is not improbable that, like the Paramāras, the Gurjara Pratihāras of Ujjain were originally feudatories of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the name Pratihāra had reference to their status under the Rāshṭrakūṭas, before the theory of descent from Lakshmaṇa was adumbrated.

feudatory titles of the earlier princes of the Mukhara line leave no room for doubt that they occupied a subordinate position in the first few decades of the sixth century A.D. In or about the year A.D. 554, however, Iśâna-varman Maukhari ventured to measure swords with the Guptas, and probably also with the Huns, and assumed the Imperial title of Mahārājādhirāja. For a period of about a quarter of a century (A.D. 554-*cir.* A.D. 580) the Maukharis were beyond question the strongest political power in the Upper Ganges Valley. They anticipated to some extent the glorious achievements of Harsha, the brother-in-law, and,-apparently, the successor (on the throne of Kanauj) of their last notable king, Grahavarman.

Like the Maukharis, the rulers of Bengal, too, seem to have thrown off the Gupta yoke in the second half of the sixth century A.D. In the fourth and fifth centuries Bengal undoubtedly acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gupta Empire. The reference to Samataṭa in Eastern Bengal as a *pratyanta* or border state in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of the emperor Samudra Gupta proves that the Imperial dominions must have embraced the whole of Western Bengal, while the inclusion of Northern Bengal (Puṇḍravardhana bhukti) within the empire from the days of Kumāra Gupta I to A.D. 543-4 [1] is sufficiently indicated by the Dāmodarpur plates. Samataṭa, though outside the limits of the Imperial provinces, had, nevertheless, been forced to feel the irresistible might of the Gupta arms. The Harāhā Inscription of Īśānavarman, however, shows that the political situation had changed completely about the middle of the sixth century A.D. A new power, *viz.*, that of the Gauḍas, was fast rising to importance in the valley of the Lower Ganges. Gauḍa was already known to Pāṇini (VI. ii. 100) and the Kauṭilîya Arthaśāstra (ii. 13). The grammarian seems to associate it with the East (*cf.* VI. ii. 99). A passage occurring in the Matsya, Kūrma, and Liṅga Purāṇas[2] has, however, been taken to mean that the Śrāvastî region was the cradle of the Gauḍa people. But the passage in question does not occur in the corresponding text of the Vāyu Purāṇa.[3] In early literature the people of the Śrāvastî region are always referred to as the Kosalas. Vātsyāyana, the author of the Kāmasūtra, writing probably in the third or fourth century of the Christian

1 For the date see Ep. Ind., XVII, Oct., 1924, p. 345.

2 Nirmitā yena Śrāvastī Gauḍa-deśe dvijottamāḥ (Matsya, XII. 30, *cf.* Liṅga, I. 65).

Nirmitā yena Śrāvastī Gauḍa-deśe Mahāpurī (Kūrma, I. 20.19).

3 Yajñe Śrāvastako rājā Śrāvastī yena nirmitā (Vāyu, 88.27).

era, refers to Gauḍa and Kosalâ as names of distinct countries.[1] Gauḍa in the Matsya-Kūrma-Liṅga MSS. may have been inserted as a sanskritised form of Goṇḍa in the same way as the term Madra-maṇḍala is employed to denote the Madras Presidency by some modern paṇḍits of the Southern Presidency, as well as others who are unacquainted with the topography of Ancient India.[2] In the Central Provinces the name "Gond" is very often sanskritised into Gauḍa.[3] Varāhamihira, writing in the sixth century A.D., places Gauḍaka in the Eastern division of India. He does not include Gauḍa in the list of countries situated in the Madhyadeśa. Mention is no doubt made of a place called Guḍa. But, if Alberuni (i. 300) is to be believed, Guḍa is Thanesar and not Oudh. The use of the term Pañcha Gauḍa as the designation of a territory embracing Northern India as far as Kanauj and the river Sarasvatî, is distinctly late, and dates only from the twelfth century A.D. The term is possibly reminiscent of the Gauḍa empire of Dharmapāla and Devapāla, and cannot be equated with the ancient realm of the Gauḍas in the early centuries of the Christian era. The distinct statement in the Harāhā Inscription that the Gauḍas were on the sea-shore, clearly suggests that the Bengal littoral, and not Oudh, was the seat of the people in the sixth century A.D. In the next century, their king Śaśāṅka is found in possession of Karṇasuvarṇa near Murshidābād. In the century that follows, a Gauḍa appears, in the Gauḍa-vaho of Vākpatirāja, as the occupant of the throne of Magadha. The zenith of Gauḍa power is reached in the ninth century when the Gauḍa dominion extends over the Gangetic Doāb and Kanauj. About the early kings of the Gauḍas our information is meagre. Certain copperplate grants, discovered in the Faridpur District, disclose the existence of three kings—Dharmāditya, Gopachandra and Samāchāradeva—who are described as overlords of Navyāvakāśikā and Vāraka-maṇḍala, apparently in the present Faridpur District. The Vappaghoshavāṭa inscription introduces to us a fourth king, *viz.*, Jayanāga, who ruled at Karṇasuvarṇa. These kings are, however, not expressly referred to as Gauḍas. The earliest king, to whom that epithet is applied is the famous Śaśāṅka, the great rival of Rājya-vardhana of Thanesar and his brother Harsha. The title

[1] For Kosalā see *daśanachchhedya-prakaraṇam*; for Gauḍa see *nakhachchhedya-prakaraṇam* and *dāṛarakshika-prakaraṇam*.

[2] *Cf.* Geiger's translation of *Mahāvaṁsa*, p. 62n.

[3] *Cf.* Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Central Provinces, p. 158.

Mahārājādhirāja assumed by the Bengal Kings mentioned above, leaves no room for doubt that they no longer acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas and set themselves up as independent sovereigns.

The uprising of the Pushyamitras, the invasions of the Huns and the intransigentism of provincial governors and feudatories, were not the only sources of trouble to the Guptas in the last days of their sovereignty. Along with foreign inroads and provincial insubordination we should not fail to take note of the dissensions in the Imperial family itself. The theory of a struggle amongst the sons of Kumāra Gupta I, may or may not be true, but there is evidence to show that the later kings of the line sometimes took opposite sides in the struggles and convulsions of the period.[1] Moreover, they do not seem to have been on friendly terms with their Vākāṭaka cousins. Narendrasena Vākāṭaka, a great-grandson of Chandragupta II through his daughter Prabhāvatī, seems to have come into hostile contact with the lord of Mālava. His grandson Harishena claims victories over Avanti. Inasmuch as the Guptas are associated with parts of Mālava as late as the time of Harsha, some of the victories gained by the Vākāṭakas must have been won over their Gupta cousins.

Lastly, it is interesting to note that while the earlier Guptas were staunch Brāhmaṇists, some of whom did not scruple to engage in sacrifices involving the slaughter of living beings, the later kings or at least some of them, *e.g.*, Budha (Buddha) Gupta, Tathāgata Gupta and Bālāditya had Buddhist leanings. As in the case of Aśoka after the Kaliṅga war and Harsha after his intimate relation with the Chinese Master of the Law, the change of religion probably had its repercussions on the military and political activities of the Empire. In this connection it is interesting to recall a story recorded by Hiuen Tsang. When "Mahirakula," the Hun tyrant ruling at Śākala, proceeded to invade the territory of Bālāditya, the latter said to his ministers, "I hear that these thieves are coming, and I *cannot fight with them* (their troops); by the permission of my ministers *I will conceal my poor person* among the bushes of the morass." Having said this he withdrew to an island with many of his subjects. Mahirakula came in pursuit but was taken alive as a captive. He was, however, set free and allowed to go away on the

[1] Deva Gupta, for instance, was an enemy of Harsha's family, while Mādhava Gupta was a friend.

intercession of the Queen Mother.[1] We do not know how far the story is authentic. But it seems that Indians of the seventh century A.D., from whom the Chinese pilgrim must have derived his information, did not credit the later Buddhist rulers of the Gupta dynasty with the possession of much courage or military vigour, though they bear testimony to their kindness and piety. The misplaced clemency of Bālāditya and his mother helped to prolong the tyrannical rule of Mihirakula and gave Yaśodharman and the succeeding aspirants for imperial dominion, *viz.*, Īśānavarman and Prabhākara-vardhana, an opportunity of which they were not slow to take advantage and thereby seal the doom not only of the Hun, but also of the Gupta domination in Northern India.

[1] Beal, Si-yu-ki, I, 168 f.; Watters, I, 288-289.

APPENDIX E

Kingdoms, Peoples and Dynasties of Trans-Vindhyan India chronologically arranged.

Brāhmaṇa Period :—1. Nishadhas (capital Giriprastha, Mbh. III 324. 12).
2. Vidarbhas (capital Kuṇḍina) and other Bhojas.
3. Dasyu tribes—Andhras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas.

Sūtra Period :—1. Māhiśmatî (Māndhātā? or Maheśvara, IA, 4, 346).
2. Bhṛigu-Kachchha (Broach).
3. Śūrpāraka (Sopara in the Koṅkaṇ).
4. Aśmaka (capital Paudanya).
5. Mūlaka (capital Pratishṭhāna).
6. Kaliṅga (capital Dantapura).
7. (?) Ukkala (N. Orissa).

Rāmāyaṇic Period :—Aryan Expansion south of the Godāvarî—settlement on the Pampā—exploration of Malaya, Mahendra and Laṅkā.

Maurya Period :— **Maurya Empire.**
1. Aparāntas proper (capital Śūrpāraka).
2. Bhojas (capital Kuṇḍina?).
3. Rāshṭrikas (capital Nāsik?).
4. Petenikas (of Pratishṭhāna?).
5. Pulindas (capital Pulindanagara).
6. Andhras (capital Bezvāda?).
7. Aṭavi.
8. Kaliṅgas (including Tosali and Samapa).
9. Viceroyalty of Suvarṇagiri.
10. Āhāra of Isila.
11. Cholas.
12. Pāṇḍyas.
13. Keralaputra.
14. Satiyaputra (Satyabhūmi of Keralotpatti?).
15. Tāmraparṇî (Ceylon).

Early Post-Maurya Period :—1. Kingdom of Vidarbha.
2. Śātavāhanas of Dakshiṇāpatha.
3. Chetas of Kaliṅga.
4. Kingdom of Pithuḍa near Masulipatam
5. ,, ,, Chola.
6. ,, ,, Pāṇḍya.
7. ,, ,, Kerala.
8. ,, ,, Ceylon (sometimes ruled by Chola princes).

Age of the Periplus :—
1. Ariake under Mambarus (or Nambanus).
2. Dachinabades under Saraganus and his successors (*i.e.*, the Deccan under the Śātavāhana-Śātakarṇis).
3. Damirica including :—
   (*a*) Cerobothra (Keralaputra).
   (*b*) Pandian Kingdom.
   (*c*) (Kingdom of) Argaru (=Uragapura).
4. Masalia (Masulipatam).
5. Dosarene(=Tosali?).

Age of Ptolemy :—1. Kingdom of Baithana (Pratishṭhāna) ruled by Pulumāyi (Śātavāhana).
2. Kingdom of Hippokoura (Kolhapur?), ruled by Baleokouros (Vilivāyakura).
3. Kingdom of Mousopalle (in the Kanarese Country).
4. ,, ,, Karoura ruled by Kerobothros (Keralaputra).
5. Pounnata (S. W. Mysore).
6. Kingdom of the Aïoi (capital Kottiara) in S. Travancore.
7. Kingdom of the Kareoi (Tāmraparṇî Valley).
8. Kingdom of Modoura ruled by 'Pandion.'
9. Kingdom of the Batoi (capital Nikama).
10. Kingdom of Orthoura, ruled by "Sornagos."
11. Kingdom of Sora (Chola) ruled by Arkatos.

12. Kingdom of Malanga (Kāñchî? Māvilangai?), ruled by Basaronagas.
13. Kingdom of Pitundra (Pithuḍa).

A. D. 150-350:—1. Ābhiras (N. Mahārāshṭra and W. India).
2. Vākāṭakas (Berar and adjoining provinces), and chiefs of Mahākāntāra.
3. Kingdoms of South Kosala, Kaurāla, Koṭṭur, Eraṇḍapalla, Devarāshṭra, Pishṭapura, Avamukta, Palakka, Kusthalapura.
4. Kingdom of Veṅgi:—(*a*) Ikshvākus.
(*b*) Bṛihatphalāyanas of Kudura
(*c*) Śālaṅkāyanas. (Salakenoi of Ptolemy ?) of Veṅgipura.
(*d*) Hastivarman of Veṅgi.
5. Pallavas of Kāñchî.
6. Śātakarṇis of Kuntala.

A. D. 350-600:— 1. Traikuṭakas and Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ; and Lāṭas, Nāgas and Gurjaras of South Gujarāṭ.
2. Vākāṭakas (C. Deccan).
3. Katachchuris (N. Mahārāshṭra and Mālwa).
4. Kings of Sarabhapura (S. Kosala).
5. Kingdoms of Uḍra, Koṅgoda and Pishṭapura; Leṇḍulura (under Vishṇukuṇḍins) in East Deccan.
6. Pallavas of Kāñchî (in Dramila or Drāviḍa).
7. Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, Mushakas and Keralas of the Far South.
8. Gaṅgas and Ālupas of S. Mysore.
9. Bāṇas of E. Mysore and N. Arcot, Kekayas of Dāvaṇagere tāluk, Kadambas of Vaijayanti and Sendrakas of Nāgarakhaṇḍa (N. W. Mysore).
10. Nalas of Bellary District.
11. Early Chalukyas of Vātāpi.

After A. D. 600:—1. Śilāhāras of Koṅkaṇ.

2. Early Chalukyas, Rāshṭrakūṭas, Later Chālukyas, Kalachuryas and Yādavas of W. Deccan.

3. Haihayas, Kalachuris or Chedis of Tripurî and Ratnapura, and Nāgas of Chakrakuṭa (C. P.).

4. Eastern Chalukyas, Chiefs of Velnāṇḍu, and Kākatîyas of the Telugu Country, Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and Orissa, Karas, Śabaras (? Śasadhara and Pāṇḍu family) and Somavaṁśi Guptas of Mahānadî Valley (N. E. Deccan).

5. Western Gaṅgas and Hoysalas (Mysore).

6. Pallavas of Kāñchī, Kalabhras of Tinnevelly District, Cholas of Tanjore, Varmans of Kerala and Kolamba, and Pāṇḍyas of Madurā (Far South).

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

A

Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi, 78, 293
Abhidhānappadīpikā, 132
Aelian 187, 223n
A Guide to Sāñchī, Marshall, 270n, 282n
A Guide to Taxila, Marshall, 39n, 290n, 299n
Ain-i-Akbari, 60
Aiyangar, S. K., 157, 183, 223n
Alberuni, 226n, 318, 324n, 327n, 344n, 416, 420, 421
Allan, 361, 364, 373, 379, 390, 395
Altekar, 376n
A Manual of Buddhism, Hardy, 78n
Amṛita Bāzār Patrikā, 327n, 375n
An Account of the Kingdom of Kābul, 105n
Ancient Geography of India, 65n, 88n, 89n, 96n, 130n, 132n
Ancient Hindu Polity, Dr. N. Law, 225n
Ancient History of the Deccan, G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, 42n, 62n, 319n, 328n, 341n, 365n, 368n, 405n, 412n, 428n
Ancient India, Aiyangar, 223n
Ancient India, Rapson, 130n, 301n
Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, McCrindle, 161n, 169n, 188n, 202n, 226n, 417n
Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, Pargiter, 6n, 7n, 48n, 56n, 57n, 84n, 139n, 172n
Ancient Mid-Indian Kshatriya Tribes, Dr. B. C. Law, 19n, 102n
Ancient Persian Lexicon and the Texts of the Achaemenidan Inscriptions, H. C. Tolman, 104n, 161n
Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, 135n, 363n, 373n, 385n
Annals of the First Han Dynasty, 293, 312
Annals of the Later Han Dynasty, 313
Anspach, 168f
Anukramaṇī, 44
Apadāna, 43n
A Peep into the Early History of India, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, 374n, 412n
Apollodorus of Artemita, 261
Apollonios, 298, 308
Appianus, 184
Arabian Nights, 417, 418n
——— Lane, 417n
———Olcott, 417n
Āraṇyaka, Aitareya, 210n
Āraṇyaka, Kaushītaki (Śāṅkhāyana), 21, 54, 79
———Taittirīya, 16, 21
Aravamuthan, 406n
Archaeological Survey of India, 151n, 381n, 391n
Aristobulus, 167
Arrian (Chinnock's translation), 160ff
Arthaśāstra—Bārhaspatya, Ed. by F. W. Thomas, 166n, 172
—Kauṭilīya (Shama Sastry), 7, 24, 58, 63, 83, 89n, 94n, 96, 99f, 106, 122, 135, 144, 157, 184n, 189f, 191, 192n, 194, 196ff, 210, 214f, 217ff, 245, 296n, 334n, 336n, 343n, 352f, 357, 366n, 429
Aryanisation of India, N. Dutt, 14n
Aryan Rule in India, Havell, 236n
Aryans, V. Gordon Childe, 7n
Āryasūra, 8n
Ashṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini, Ed. by S. C. Vasu, 6, 24, 26, 41, 60f, 83, 99, 101, 130f, 157, 164, 167f, 170, 198, 211n, 252, 316n, 429
Aśoka, Bhandarkar, 205n, 214n
Aśoka, Hultzsch, C I I, 221n, 228n, 231n
Aśoka, Macphail, 188n
Aśoka, Smith (3rd edition), 145, 150, 182n, 185, 201n, 203n, 204, 211n, 213n, 216n, 225
Aśoka, Text and Glossary, Woolner, 212n
Aśokāvadāna, 5, 148
Aśvaghosha, 8n, 58n, 81
A. S. W. I., 70n
Athenaios, 200, 202
Aṭṭhakathā, 143
Aucitya-Vicāra Carcā, 383n
Avadāna-kalpalatā, 261
A Volume of Indian Studies presented to Prof. E. J. Rapson, 415n

B

Bāṇa, 148, 154, 164, 240, 272, 343, 378, 423
Banerji, R. D., 149f, 276, 320f, 332, 334, 338n, 412n, 423, 429
Barnett, L. D., 6, 145, 150, 183n, 225n, 280n, 367, 368
Barua, B. M., 212, 252n, 257n, 258n, 284n, 285n, 366n.
Basāk, R. G., 397

Beal, 42n, 144n, 226n, 378n, 396n, 401n
Beginnings of Buddhist Art, Foucher, 233n, 291n
Beginnings of South Indian History, 157n, 183n, 223n, 351n
Beloch, 225
Bevan, 173n
Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, 26n, 44n, 134n, 279n, 317n, 425n, 426n
Bhandarkar, Prof. D. R., 1, 44, 46, 51, 64, 69, 81, 101, 125, 127, 144, 146, 148f, 152, 210, 212, 214, 231n, 240, 243, 263, 272, 299, 324n, 331, 337, 339, 344f, 346, 372, 376n, 412n.
Bhandarkar, Sir R. G., 1, 171, 259, 274, 278, 289, 320, 324n, 337, 378, 412n
Bharata Mallika, 173n
Bhaṭṭaśālī, N. K., 370n, 396n, 397
Bhaṭṭasvāmin, 101
Bhilsa Topes, 158n
Black Yajus (Keith), 118n, 121
Bloch, 381
Bodhāyana, 210n
Bombay Gazetteer, see Gazetteer, Bombay.
Book of Kindred Sayings, Mrs. Rhys Davids, 83n, 87n, 110n, 132n, 137n, 140n, 237n
Brāhmaṇa—
———Aitareya, 3, 10, 12, 15n, 22f, 27f, 42f, 58, 60f, 65f, 70, 72, 77, 84, 92, 98f, 102f, 121f, 130f, 172, 200n, 212
———Aitareya (Keith), 23, 113, 117, 245
———Aitareya (Trivedi's Trans.), 28n
———Gopatha, 24, 44, 45, 71
———Jaiminīya, 28, 60
———Jaiminīya Upanishad, 18, 28, 31, 72
———Kaushītaki, 41, 48f
———Pañchaviṁśa or Tāṇḍya, 22, 28, 57, 72, 245
———Sāmavidhāna, 54
———Saṁhitopanishad, 47
———Śatapatha, Eggeling, 3, 10, 15f, 24f, 27, 35, 37, 41f, 50f, 60f, 69f, 84, 92, 95, 98, 100f, 122f, 131
———Taittirīya, 3
———Vaṁśa, 28n, 31, 105, 252
Bṛihat Kathā, 148
Bṛihat Saṁhitā (Varāhamihira), 20n, 164, 167, 173n, 332n, 336n, 345, 371, 405n, 420
———Kern, 239n, 241n, 265n
Buddha, Oldenberg, 17, 33, 35n, 48, 80, 92n, 130
Buddha Charita, 8, 81, 131n
Buddhaghosha, 78, 137, 141, 212
Buddhist Conception of Spirits, Law, 106n
Buddhist India, Rhys Davids, 36, 74, 93n, 110n, 130, 415n
Buddhist Studies (ed. Law), 344n, 415n
Buddhist Suttas, see Suttas, Buddhist
Bühler, 210, 214, 216f, 240n, 268n, 276n, 345n
Bury, 85, 177

C

Calcutta Review, 4, 6, 200n, 293n, 309n, 317n, 348n, 368n, 381, 425n
Cambridge Ancient History, 98
Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, 124 161f, 173n, 213n, 225n, 238, 280, 288
Carlleyle, 89
Carmichael Lectures, 1918, 44n, 50n, 81, 93, 96n, 101, 152, 171, 208n, 324n
Catalogue of Coins—Allan (Guptas), 360n, 365n, 384n, 389n, 411, 428n
———Gardner, 287n
———Rapson (Andhras and W. Kshatrapas), 301n, 305n
———Smith (Indian Museum), 261n, 275n, 289n, 315n, 329n, 349n, 363n, 371n
———Whitehead (Indo-Greeks and Indo-Scythians), 289n, 326n
Ceylonese Chronicles, 5, 144, 146, 148, 151f, 156, 203, 226, 415
Chakravarti, M., 405n
Chanda, Prof. R. P., 145f, 149, 151, 188 255n, 257, 267n, 276
Charpentier, Dr., 200n, 390n, 415n
Chatterji, Dr. S. K., 364n
Chaucer, 262
Chandragomin, 426
Chhavillākara, 209
Coins of Ancient India, Cunningham, 269f
Corporate Life in Ancient India, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, 99n
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. I, Hultzsch, 205n, 211n
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, Konow, 288n, 292nf, 301n, 306n, 311n, 315nf, 321nf, 326nf, 328n, 343n
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, Fleet, 356n, 366n, 384n, 389n, 402n, 406n, 407n, 424n, 427n
Cowell, 77n, 105n, 123n, 181n, 201n
Cunningham, 41, 65, 82, 83, 96, 130, 132, 145, 149, 158, 174, 200n, 264n, 289, 294, 306, 309n, 317
Curtius, 154f, 163f, 169, 171f, 175
Cyril, 417

D

Dacca Review, 379n
Daśa-kumāra-charita, 76n, 171
Desikar, S. S., 211n
Devī-Chandraguptaṁ, 347n
Devī-Māhātmya, 4
Dey, N. L., 45, 76, 87, 90
Dhammapada, Commentary, 84, 87, 131, 135, 226n
Dhoyi, 367
Dialogues of the Buddha, 50f, 56, 61, 77, 87n, 101, 110f, 133f, 172, 222n, 232
Dikshit, 364
Diodorus, 157, 164, 167, 172f, 174f, 186, 193n, 198

Dīpavaṁsa, 225n
Divekar, 384
Divyāvadāna (Cowell and Neil), 44, 95, 132, 181, 195n, 201, 203f, 208n, 211, 233, 237f, 242, 249, 253, 255.
Dowson, 309n, 317.
Dubreuil, Professor, 62n, 255, 319f, 332f, 343, 367ff, 405n
Dvātriṁśat-puttalikā, 147n
Dynasties of the Kali Age, Pargiter, 17, 19, 27, 81, 158, 265n, 269, 272n, 328n, 364n
———Kanarese Districts, 155

E

Early History of Bengal, see Monahan
Early History of the Dekkan, see Sir R. G. Bhandarkar
Early History of India, Dr. Vincent Smith, 11, 88, 130, 171, 194n, 201n, 204n, 223n, 226n, 257n, 275n, 291n, 293n, 325n, 327, 352n, 365n, 371n, 426n, 427n
Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect, Raychaudhuri, 99n, 291n
Eggeling, 23f, 114, 117, 124
Eliot (Hinduism and Buddhism), 76n, 104n, 226n, 319n, 416n, 417
Elliot and Dowson, 327n
Elphinstone, 105n
Epigraphia Indica, 2, 20n, 62, 64, 79, 97, 133, 135n, 140, 180n, 197, 207n, 211n, 223n, 240n, 279, 293n, 294n, 303, 306n, 315, 319n, 321nf, 326n, 329n, 330n, 356n, 365n, 366nf, 389n, 405n, 425n, 428n, 429n
Erskine, K. D. (Rajputāna Gazetteer), 181
Essay on Guṇāḍhya, 81n, 104

F

Fa Hien, Legge, 132, 209, 238, 378f, 399
Fan-ye, 291, 313
Fergusson, 320
Félix Lacote, 135n
Ferishta, 327n
Fick, trans., S. Maitra, 216n
Fleet, 124, 127, 152, 155, 199n, 200, 257, 294f, 297f, 301, 304, 308, 317, 320n, 326, 331n, 366, 367nf, 371n, 396n, 399, 402, 410
Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population, 262n
Foucher, 39, 273, 286n
Franke, 317
Fundamental Unity of India, Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee, 116, 118

G

Gaṇapāṭha, 170
Gaṇḍavyūha, 207n
Gangooly, O. C., 150
Garde, 384n
Gardner, 264, 286f
Gārgī Saṁhitā, 239, 250, 265
Gauḍavaho, 412n, 430
Gazetteer—Amraoti, 61
—Bombay, Vol. I, Pt. II, 96n, 197, 211n, 240n, 240n, 253n, 329n, 331n, 344n, 346n, 368n, 372, 411, 412, 428n
—Godāvarī District, 367n
—Rājputāna, IIa, the Mewar Residency, see Erskine
—Vizagapatam, 367n
Geiger 17, 82, 111, 127, 129, 132, 139, 143, 148, 152f, 178, 181, 208, 242
Geographical Dictionary, 45n
Ghoshal, Dr. U. N., see Hindu Revenue System
Ghosh, Haricharan, 419, 421
Gītā, 99n, 271n
Goldstücker, 263
Great Epic of India, Hopkins, 4, 25
Guṇāḍhya, Essay on, see Essay on Guṇāḍhya
Gune, 135
Gupte, Y. R., 330n, 404n

H

Hamilton and Falconer 160, 164f, 168, 173f, 185f, 188, 193, 195n, 198, 200, 202 216n, 259f, 288n, 315n
Han-Shu, 312
Hardy, 78
Harisvāmin, 46, 92, 228n, 306n, 371
Hārit Krishna Dev, 51
Harivaṁśa, 61n, 63, 76f, 92f, 102, 131, 293, 425
Harsha Charita, Parab, 148 240, 272, 343, 347, 365, 389n, 406n 408, 409
———Cowell and Thomas, 154, 319n, 401
Harvard Oriental Series (28-30), 76n, 84n, 87n, 131n, 137n
Havell, 236n
H. C. Ray, 43n
Hekataios, 103
Hemachandra, 138, 200, 238
Herzfeld (Ep. Ind.), 350n
Heras (ABORI), 361n, 402n
Herodotus, 161
Herrmann, 292f
Hillebrandt, 117
Hinduism and Buddhism, see Eliot
Hindu Revenue System, 192n
Historical Position of Kalki, Jayaswal, 402n
History of Greece for Beginners, Bury, 85
Hiuen-Tsang, 42, 78, 105, 132, 139, 144, 157, 203, 209, 211, 240, 323, 336, 378n, 385, 392n, 395, 399, 401, 403, 416, 427f, 431
Hoernle, 83, 132f, 407n, 409n.

Hoffmann, 300n
Holdich, 165
Hopkins, 4, 25
Hou-Han-Shu, 313
Hoyland (The Empire of the Great Mogol), 370n
Hultzsch, 11, 44n, 127, 209n, 211n, 215n, 217, 221nf, 225, 228n, 231n, 233n, 267

I

Imperial Gazetteer, the Indian Empire, 65n
——C. P. 430n
India, What it can teach us, 291
Indian Antiquary, 25, 42, 44f, 62, 64f, 76, 85n, 90n, 140, 146, 156, 158f, 171f, 184, 199n, 200n, 206n, 207n, 211nf, 224n, 232n 238n, 240, 253, 262n, 285n, 289n, 291n, 293n 296n, 304, 322nf, 330n, 331n, 332n, 347n, 350n, 360n, 367nf, 376n, 384n, 425n, 426n, 428n
Indian Historical Journal, 404n
Indian Historical Quarterly, 211n, 225n, 253n, 267n, 275n, 280n, 318n, 332n, 341n, 364n, 365n, 366, 367nf, 378n, 419f
Indian Literature, Weber, 43n, 79
Indian Studies in Honour of C. R. Lanman, 318n
Indica, see Megasthenes
Indraji, Bhagwanlāl, 256n
Inscription of Aśoka, Part I, 210
Invasion of India by Alexander, 164f
McCrindle, 154n, 158n, 164f, 173n, 174ff, 202n, 211n
Isidore of Charax, 262, 289n, 296
I-Tsing, 76, 206n, 231, 360
Iyengar, Srinivāsa, 64
History of Indian and Indonesian Art, 208, 291n
History of Fine Art (India and Ceylon), Smith, 291n, 417
History of Sanskrit Literature (Keith) 291n

J

Jacobi, 90, 144, 148, 200n
Jaina Canon, 6
Jātaka, Camb. ed; also Fausbōll, 8
—— Ārāmadūsa (268), 70
—— Asadisa (181), 70
—— Asātarūpa (100), 109n
—— Assaka (207), 69, 101
—— Aṭṭhāna (425), 51
—— Bāveru (339), 415
—— Bhaddasāla (465), 68n, 90, 111, 140
—— Bhallāṭiya (504), 70
—— Bhojajānīya (23), 70
—— Bhūridatta (543), 68, 105, 416
—— Brahāchatta (336), 69, 74, 103
—— Brahmadatta (323), 95n
Jātaka, Champeyya (506), 76f
—— Chetiya (422), 90f
—— Chullakāliṅga (301), 87, 101f
—— Chulla Sutasoma (525), 123
—— Darīmukha (378), 115
—— Dasa Brāhmaṇa (495), 26, 93f, 172
—— Dasaṇṇaka (401), 115
—— Dasaratha (461), 53, 116
—— Dhajavihetha (391), 50
—— Dhonasākha (353), 68n, 93n, 131
—— Dhomakāri, (413), 93f
—— Dummedha (50), 51, 124
—— Ekapaṇṇa (149), 83, 87
—— Ekarāja (303), 116
—— Gagga (155), 134
—— Gaṇḍatindu (520), 95
—— Gandhāra (406), 33, 103
—— Gaṅgamāla (421), 51
—— Ghata (355), 110
—— Ghata (454), 74, 99
—— Guttila (243), 68
—— Haritamāta (239), 100, 137, 140
—— Hatthimaṅgala (163), 220n
—— Jayadissa (513), 95n
—— Kaliṅga Bodhi (479), 43
—— Khaṇḍahāla (542), 125
—— Kosambī (428), 69, 109
—— Kumbha (512), 74
—— Kumbhakāra (408), 49, 57f, 95, 103
—— Kummāsapiṇḍa (415), 51, 140
—— Kunāla (536), 69, 109, 130
—— Kurudhamma (276), 94n
—— Kusa (531), 43, 71, 88f, 116
—— Lomasa Kassapa (433), 51
—— Machchha (75), 74
—— Mahāassāroha (302), 123
—— Mahājanaka (539), 34, 36, 55, 76
—— Mahā Kaṇha (469), 44n
—— Mahā Nārada Kassapa (544), 44n
—— Mahāsīlava (51), 109
—— Mahāsutasoma (537), 93f
—— Mahā Ummagga (546), 33, 95
—— Maṅgala (87), 220n
—— Mātaṅga (497), 136
—— Mātiposaka (455), 51
—— Mūsika (373), 137
—— Nandiya Miga (385), 74
—— Nimi (541), 35, 44n, 49, 57f, 95
—— Padakusalamānava (432), 114, 125
—— Padañjali (247), 115, 123
—— Sachchaṅkira (73), 114f, 125
—— Sambhava (515), 68n, 94
—— Sambulā (519), 52
—— Samkichcha (530) 100n
—— Samugga (436), 417
—— Samvara (462), 115
—— Sarabha miga (483) 68n
—— Sarabhaṅga (522), 63
—— Sattuvasta (402), 50
—— Serivānij (3), 64
—— Setaketu (377), 41
—— Seyya (282), 110
—— Somanassa (505), 49, 95n
—— Sonaka (529), 115, 123
—— Soṇa Nanda (532), 69, 101, 109

Jātaka, Suruchī (489), 33, 68n, 116
—— Susīma (163), 39, 103, 220n
—— Susīma (411), 51n
—— Sussondi (360), 415
—— Tachchhasūkara (492), 137, 140
—— Taṇḍulanāli (5 , 50
—— Telapatta (96), 39, 103, 125
—— Tesakuna (521), 110
—— Thusa (338), 137
—— Udaya (458), 10
—— Uddālaka (487), 41, 52
—— Ummadanti (527), 170
—— Vaḍḍhakisūkara (283), 110, 137, 140
—— Vedabbha (48), 92
—— Vessantara (547), 125, 170, 283
—— Vidhurapaṇḍita (545), 68n, 75, 77, 94
Jātakamālā, 8n
Jayaswal, 127, 143, 145, 148f, 158, 164, 167, 171f, 173n, 201n, 204, 214, 229, 250n, 252n, 255n, 256ff, 269ff, 277, 309, 332n, 402n
Jinaprabha sūri, 238
Jinasena, 425
Johnston, 8n
Jolly, 168
Journal Asiatique, 77n, 106n, 208n
—— of the American Oriental Society, 60
—— of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 35n, 43n, 76f, 91n, 93n, 97, 138, 241n, 361, 377n.
—— of the Bihār and Orissa Research Society, 62n, 147f, 156, 201n, 264n, 257, 280n, 332n, 419, 423, 427n.
—— of the Dacca University, 417n
—— of the Department of Letters (Calcutta University), 26n, 293n, 304n.
—— of the Royal Asiatic Society, 3, 5, 8, 11, 63, 80, 88, 105, 132, 152, 162, 169, 198n, 200n, 201n, 212n, 217n, 224n, 227n, 275n, 277n, 280n, 289n, 292n, 293n, 301n, 304n, 306n, 311n, 312nff, 317n, 324nff, 328nf, 332n, 343n, 351n, 365, 366, 371nf, 377n, 390n, 405, 407f, 417n, 419, 423, 425.
Justin, 158, 175, 181, 182, 184, 259, 263, 287ff, 334n, 415n

K

Kādambarī, Ridding, 378n, 392n
Kadambakula (Moraes), 342n, 427n
Kālakāchārya Kathānaka, 294
Kalhaṇa, 103, 209, 217, 220f, 238, 304nf, 317, 319n, 325
Kālidāsa, 63, 136, 268, 426
Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, 322
Kāmandaka, 5, 157
Kāmasūtra, Vātsyāyana 278, 344n, 420, 421, 429.
Kanakabhai Pillay, 223n
Karpuramañjarī, 90
Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā, 18, 54, 75, 114
Kathākośa, 102n, 139n, 141f
Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara, Durgāprasād and Parab, 44, 75, 151
——Tawney, 136, 145n, 155, 157, 378, 389, 417n, 428
Kātyāyana (grammarian), 223
Kaumudī-mahotsava, 359n
Kauṭilya (see Arthaśāstra), 215
Kāvya-mīmāṁsā, 100, 148n, 278n, 326, 374
Keith, 1, 5, 10, 14n, 23, 52, 57, 113, 117f, 121, 252
Kennedy, 311, 317, 326
Keralotpatti, 224
Kern, 217, 233n, 239, 241n
Kielhorn, 47n, 175n, 197, 322n, 361, 368f, 402n, 411
Kingsmill, 312
Kittel's Dictionary, 46
Knightes Tale, 262
Konow, Sten, see Sten Konow, 255f
Kramadīśvara, 262
Kshemendra, 151, 261
Kumāralāta (Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā), 322

L

Lalitavistara, 389n
Lassen, 200n, 225
Law, Dr. B. C , 19, 43 78, 85, 89, 102, 106
Law, Dr. N., 225n
Legge, 132, 209n, 379, 417
Le Monde Oriental, 200n
Lévi, Sylvain, 26n, 77, 106, 206n, 207n, 210n, 243, 285, 292, 312, 324, 343n.
Life of Alexander, 181
—— of Buddha (Rockhill), 83
—— of Hiuen Tsang, 395n, 396n
Lodge, 124
Lokavibhāga, 341n
Lüders, 70, 106, 198nf, 254n, 256n, 325n, 326, 348n, 350n, 351, 353n, 354nf, 356 f, 359n.

M

Macauliffe's Sikh Religion, 156n
Macdonell, 1, 3, 10, 14n, 35n, 42, 52, 252, 288
Macphail, Aśoka, 188n
Mahābhārata, 3f, 9f, 20f, 24f, 33f, 49f, 65, 69, 75f, 80f, 92f, 97f, 105f, 129f, 166f, 170f, 173nf, 195, 205n, 212n, 215f, 222n, 228, 245, 252, 262, 293, 315n, 371f, 389n, 426
—— A Criticism, C. V. Vaidya, 26n, 220n.
——Java text, 11, 14n
Mahābhāshya, Patañjali, 7, 25, 47n, 99f, 160, 170, 173n, 185nf, 200n, 218, 234n, 250, 262, 293, 296n, 316, 336n, 339n, 352n
Mahābodhivaṁsa, 149, 154f, 195n
Mahāmāyūrī, 150, 294
Mahāvaṁsa, 5, 225n, 415n

Mahāvaṁsa, Geiger, 20, 81f, 111, 129, 132 148, 152, 178, 181, 203n, 208n, 242, 430n
—— Tikā, 166, 182
—— Turnour, 81f, 147, 157
Mahāvastu, 62, 64, 67n, 71n, 214n, 227n, 334n, 426
Mahāvibhāshā, 3
Majumdar, Dr. R. C., 99n, 145f, 149, 255, 303, 319, 333, 386
Majumdar, N. G., 294n, 353n
Majumdar, S. N., 210, 245n, 384n
Malala, 286
Mālālaṅkāravatthu, 81, 147
Mālavikāgnimitram, 253, 259
——, Tawney, 252n, 268
Malcolm, 43n
Mamulanār, 183
Mānasī O Marmavāṇī, 210n
Manual of Buddhism, 78, 233n
Manusaṁhitā, 45, 86, 89, 114, 210n, 215, 217, 293
Mārgabhūmi Sūtra, 319
Marshall, Sir John, 39, 270f, 281, 290, 300f, 304f, 309, 314f, 318f, 320, 373
McCrindle, 154, 158n, 161, 164, 173f, 186, 188n, 198n, 202n, 211n, 226n
Mediaeval Hindu India, 171n, 406n
Megasthenes, 100, 205, 212, 224
Megasthenes and Arrian, 198n, 225n
Meghadūta, 63, 136, 378
Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, 151n, 257n, 276n
Milinda Pañho, 158, 182, 262, 265, 267, 283f, 287f, 344n, 420
Mitra, R. L., 3, 41
Modern Europe, Lodge, 124
Modern Review, 85, 143, 150, 253n, 289n, 292n, 359n, 369n
Monahan, 194n, 231n
Moraes (Kadamba-kula), 342n, 427, see Kadambakula
Mudrārākshasa, 157, 179, 182, 242
Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, see Rice

N

Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā, 253n
Nazim, Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud, 329n
Nikāya—
—Aṅguttara, 67f, 82, 84, 87, 91n, 104, 110, 131, 146, 164, 212, 219
—Dīgha, 138
—Majjhima, 21, 35, 57f, 70, 73, 83, 87, 100, 105, 134f, 142f, 165
—Samyutta, 83, 110f, 133, 137, 140
Nīlakaṇṭha (Commentator), 45, 102
Nirukta, Yāska, 5, 78, 115
Nītisāra, Kāmandaka, 157
Nītivākyāmrita (Somadeva), 389n
Nonnos, 287
Norris, 225
Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhāra, Foucher, 39n.

O

Old Brāhmī Inscriptions, Barua, 366n
Oldenberg, 1, 10, 17, 33, 35, 38, 48, 80, 92, 130, 320
Oldham, 371n
Onesikritos, 169
Origin and Development of Bengali Language (Chatterji), 364
Orosius, 172, 288
Oxford History of India, Dr. V. A. Smith, 151n, 188n, 199n, 203n, 255, 315n

P

Pandyan Kingdom, 223n
Panku, 310, 312
Pan-yong, 313
Papañchasūdani, 19
Paramatthadipani, 43n
Paramatthajotikā, 59, 86
Paraṇar, 183
Pargiter, 1, 6, 14n, 15n, 17f, 19, 23, 27n, 33, 35, 45, 48n 56, 66, 80, 84, 91, 158, 172, 239
Pātimokkha, 417
Pariśishṭa parvan, 139, 148f, 154, 181f, 200
Pāṭaliputrakalpa, 239
Patañjali (see Mahābhāshya), 210n
Pavanadūtam, 367
Penzer, 417n
Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, Schoff, 41n, 178, 210, 281, 286, 295f, 315n, 320, 340n, 343, 372, 421
Pischel, 115
Pliny, 65, 160, 202, 206, 211f, 315n
Plutarch, 157, 175, 177, 181, 183, 262
Political History, Ray Chaudhuri, 26n, 99n.
Polybius, 246f, 260
Pompeius Trogus, 288
Prabodha-chandrodaya, 405n
Prajñāpanā, 210n
Pravachana-sāraddhāra, 344n
Pravāsī, 402n
Pre-Aryen et Pre-Dravidien dans l'Inde, 77n, 106, 206n, 210n.
Priyadarśikā, Śrī Harsha, 78, 135f
Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference, 200n
Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, 252n, 383n
Przyluski, 280n
Ptolemy, Geographer, 23, 65, 104, 173n, 206n, 223, 262, 283n, 287, 303, 330, 339, 341n, 343, 345, 364n, 371, 373
Ptolemy, Historian, 167
Purāṇa—
—Agni, 421,
—Bhāgavata, 4, 12, 19, 78, 145, 238, 261n, 270, 344n
—Brahma, 209n
—Brahmāṇḍa, 145, 155

Purāṇa—
— Bṛihaddharma, 79
—Kūrma, 205n, 429
—Liṅga, 429
—Mārkaṇḍeya, Pargiter, 4, 48, 56, 91, 164, 173n, 213, 234, 345n, 371n
—Matsya, 11f, 23, 42, 48, 51, 61, 64, 70, 76f, 97f, 102f, 145, 155f, 213, 237, 270, 277ff, 345n, 429.
—Skanda, 421
—Vāyu, 19f 23, 34, 39, 42 50, 55f, 61, 64, 70f, 76f, 81, 84, 97f, 101f, 109, 144f, 148, 155f, 237f, 270, 277ff, 429
—Vishṇu, 19f, 31, 34, 37, 50, 55f, 70, 84, 97f, 237f, 270, 345n, 364n, 385

R

Raghuvaṁśa, 63, 205n, 222n, 368
Rājasthān, 182n
Rājataraṅginī, 103, 209, 217, 304n, see Kalhaṇa
Rājāvalikathe, 199f
Rāma-charita (Sandhyākara Nandi), 365n
Rāmdās, 367f
Rāmāyaṇa, 3, 24, 34f, 39f, 53, 63, 70, 74f, 81, 84, 92, 95f, 206n, 215, 293
Rangaswāmi Sarasvatī, 347n
Rapson, 91, 127, 130, 161, 213f, 264n, 266, 286, 296, 299n, 308, 318n, 320, 331, 343f, 345f, 351, 365, 419, 422
Ratnāvalī, 136
Raverty (Tabaqāt), Vol. I, 351
Rawlinson, 264n
Ray Chaudhuri, 99
Records of the Western World, see Beal, 416n
Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads (Keith), 5, 117f
Religions of India, Hopkins, 25, 291
Rhys Davids, 1, 21, 32, 36, 51n, 71, 82, 106, 127, 129, 132n, 139, 186, 284n, 287n, 415
Rhys Davids, Mrs., 83n, 110n, 133
Rice, 155, 183n, 199n, 242, 392n
Ridding, 378n
Rig Veda Brāhmaṇas, Keith, 23n
Rivett-Carnac, 269
Rockhill, 83
Roth, 10

S

Sachau, Alberuni's India, 416n
Sacred Books of the East, 8n, 21f, 37, 42, 52, 57, 69f, 74f, 78, 80f, 94f, 104, 109f, 114, 118, 123, 129, 132, 135, 147, 158, 181n, 385n
Sahni, Dayārām, 317n
Saint-Martin, V. de, 173
Sallet, 264
Saṅgharaksha, 320
Sanskrit Drama (Keith), 291n
Śaṅkara (Commentator), 347n
Sanskrit Literature, Macdonell, 3, 35
Śāstrī, K. A. Nilkanta, 223n
Śāstrī, Pandit Ganapati, 29n, 93n
Śāstrī, Pandit H. P., 150, 242ff, 364n, 404n
Sāyaṇa, 113
Schoff, 39, 178n, 210n
Schwanbeck, 186
Senart, 62, 64, 214n, 217, 225, 231n
Shāhbūrqan, Shapurakhan, 417
Shah, Mr. H. A., 252n
Shama Sastry (see Arthaśāstra), 210n
Siddhanta, N. K., 12n
Sigālovāda, 232
Si-yu-ki, Beal, 42, 88, 131, 144, 226n, 395n, 401n, 402n, 432n
Sketch of the Sikhs, 43n
Smith, Dr. V. A., 1f, 5, 63f, 85, 88, 127f, 130, 132, 136, 139, 145, 150, 152, 169, 171, 182n, 185, 188n, 194, 199, 201n, 202ff, 211n, 213n, 216f, 224ff, 227, 229, 231n, 233, 235, 239, 247, 249n, 261, 263f, 275f, 299, 315, 318ff, 325, 340, 361, 372f, 375, 377, 394, 417
Somadeva (Author of the Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara) 389, 428
Somadeva (Nītivākyāmṛita), 389, 426
Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India, 43n, 85, 87
South Indian Inscriptions, Hultzsch, 11
South Indian Plates ascribed to Janamejaya, 2
Spooner, Dr., 188
Śrīdhara, 79
Śrī Harsha, 78, 136
Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa, 347, 383n
Sse-ki, 312
Ssu-ma-chien, 312
Stein (Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅginī, etc.), 166, 416
Stein (Megasthenes und Kauṭilya), 194n
Sten Konow, 90n, 257n, 258n, 267n, 284n, 288, 292f, 300n 302ff, 313ff, 318f, 320ff, 326, 373, 419
Sthavirāvalī, 138
Strabo, see Hamilton and Falconer
Subramaṇiam, 201n
Sukhthankar, 279, 339
Śukranīti, B. K. Sarkar, 113
Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, 141
Sung-yun, 314n
Sūtra—
—Dharma :—
—Apastamba, 243n
—Bodhāyana (Baudhāyana), 60f, 210n
—Gṛihya :—
—Āśvalāyana, 26
—Śāṅkhāyana, 21
—Jaina :—
—Aupapātika, 140
—Āyāraṅga, 334n
—Bhagabatī, 67f, 138
—Kalpa, 86f, 90, 142, 385
—Nirayāvalī, 87, 138f, 141f
—Śūtrakṛitāṅga, 82
—Uttarādhyayana, 37, 57f, 61, 94f, 104, 285

Sūtra, Śrauta—
—Āpastamba, 73n, 121
—Āśvalāyana, 37, 253
—Baudhāyana, 72f
—Kātyāyana, 113
—Śāṅkhāyana, 27f, 50, 66, 72
Sutta, Buddhist, 8, 21f, 32, 417
—Ambaṭṭha, 22n, 71n, 134, 172
—Chakkavatti Sihanāda, 222n
—Lohichcha, 22n, 110, 134
—Mahāgovinda, 51, 61, 77, 101f, 121n
—Mahāli, 87
—Mahāparinibbāna, 74n, 76n, 85, 88f, 141, 181, 242
—Mahā Sudassana, 89
—Makhādeva, 57f
—Soṇadaṇḍa, 138
—Sutta Nipāta, 62, 70, 89, 100, 111, 129, 132
—Suttanta Kālakārāma, 415
———Mahagovinda, 51, 61, 77, 101f, 121n
———Pāyāsi, 71n, 111
———Sigālovāda, 232n
Svapna-vāsavadatta, 29, 135, 143
Sarasvatī, A. Rangaswami, 347n

T

Tabard, 135n
Tacitus, 1
Takakusu, 206n
Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago, 223n
Tāranātb, 156, 200f, 238f, 253
Tawney, 136, 145, 148, 155, 157
—— -The Ocean of Stories, Penzer, 417n
Therīgāthā, 43n
Thoma, 224
Thomas, Dr. F. W., 166, 177n, 197, 217, 227, 238, 289, 294f, 306, 317, 320
Thucydides, 1
Tirthakalpa, 283n
Tod, see Rājasthān
Tolman, 104, 161
Trenckner, 261n, 267n
Tripiṭaka, 319
Tsieu Han Shu, 293n

U

Upanisbad—
———Bṛihadāraṇyaka, 3, 26f, 36n, 37, 43n, 50, 59, 61, 84, 122, 124, 245, 252, 351n
———Chhāndogya, 3, 25, 3 , 36n, 40, 42, 46, 50, 99n, 114, 124, 241
———Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra's translation, 3, 41n
———Kaushītaki, 44f, 122
———Muṇḍaka, 241
———Praśna, 21, 53, 61, 73
———Taittirīya, 72
Uvāsagadasāo, Hoernle, 83, 89, 132f, 141

V

Vaidya, C. V., 26n, 171n, 406n
Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems (R. G. Bhandarkar), 324n
Vākpatirāja, 412n, see Gauḍabaho
Van Wijk, 318n
Varāhamihira, 430n
Vārshagaṇya, 5
Vāsavadattā Nāṭyadhārā, 200n
Vasu, S. C., 157
Vātsyāyana, 135, 228, 357, 420, 421, 429
Veda Saṁhitā—
——— Atharva, 2, 9, 18, 21, 26, 40, 54, 71, 73, 79, 124, 334n
——— Bloomfield's translation, 10
——— Paippalāda recension, 50
——— Kāṭhaka, 18, 54 75, 114n
——— Maitrāyanī, 114n
——— Rik, 17f, 27, 40, 42, 44f, 54, 58, 60, 71f, 78, 91, 97f, 103, 131, 167, 170, 200n
——— Taittirīya, 118
——— Yajus, 118n, 121n
Vedic Index, Macdonell and Keith, 10f, 16, 22n, 25n, 28n, 33f, 44n, 47f, 50n, 58, 60, 79, 103f, 114f, 118, 138, 141, 167, 170, 245n
Venkatesvaraiyar, 224
Vidyābhūshaṇa, Dr. S. C., 85
Vidyālaṅkār, Jaychandra, 419f
Vimānavatthu, 232
Vinaya Texts, 43, 75, 78, 138f
—— Chullavagga, 133, 138
—— Mahāvagga, 68f, 87f, 109f, 123, 135f
Vogel, 170, 306, 382

W

Watson, 179n, 184n, 263n
Watters (Yuan Chwang), 67, 83n, 105, 209n, 293n, 319n, 344n, 396n, 416n, 423, 428n
Weber, 1, 43n, 46f, 79, 115, 132, 171
Wei-lio, 316
Westergaard, 225
Whitehead, 286n, 299n, 300, 315n
Wilson, 88
Wijk, Dr. Van, 419
Woolner, 212n

Y

Yāska, 4, 5, 78f, 105
Yuan Chwang, Watters, 76n, 83n, 105, 132, 293n, 396n, 416n, 420, 421, 423, 428n
Yuga Purāṇa, 240
Yu-Houan, 316

Z

ZDMG., 289n, 294n
Zimmer, 10, 43

GENERAL INDEX

A

Abastanoi, Sambastai, Sabarcae, Sabagrae, 172f
Abdagases, 310, 352
Abhaya Lichchhavi, 87
Abhaya, Prince of Magadha, 139
Abhimanyu, 10f, 54
Abhipratārin Kākshaseni, 13, 28f, 54
Ābhīra, Abiria, 5, 65, 173, 303, 340, 346, 371f
Abhisāra, Abisares, 166f
Abhisāraprastha, 361
Abhishāhāḥ, 173n
Abhisheka, 119f, 204n
Abhyamtar-opasthāyaka, 355
Abisares, 166, 175f
Achaemenian, 104, 160, 163
Achchha, 67
Achintya-Purusha, 380
Achyuta, 363, 365
Adharbaijān, 416
Adhirāja, 350, 351n
Adhisīmakṛishṇa, 27, 29, 46, 54, 75, 80
Adhishṭhāna, 352
Adhyakshas, 193ff, 217
Ādichchas (Ādityas), 70
Ādityasena, 393, 408, 410f
Ādityavardhana, 414
Ādityavarman, 406
Adraistai, 168
A-fan-tu, 420
Agalassoi, 171
Agathokleia, 264, 266, 286, 352
Agathokles, 286
Agesilaos, 325
Aggālava shrine, 133
Agikhaṁdha, 232f
Agni gṛihapati, 119
Agnimitra Śuṅga, 252n, 253f, 269f
Agra-mahishī, 350
Agrāmātya, 203
Agrammes, 154f, 177, 179, 181f, 211
Agronomoi, 193n
Āhālas, 215n
Āhāra, 355
Ahichchhatra, Adhichhatra, or Chhatravatī, 94, 365
Ahichchhatra-bhukti, 381
Aikshvāka, 72, 82
Aila, 18f
Aindra mahābhisheka, 23, 116f, 120
Aindrota, 28, 31, 46, 54
Aïoi, 434
Aja, 145, 148
Ajaka, 147f
Ajamīḍha, 18
Ajātaśatru Kāśya, 44f, 50f, 59
Ajātaśatru Kūṇika, 81, 87, 90, 136f, 152, 176, 220n, 266n
Ajita, 87
Ajita Mahendra, 384n
Ajita Vikramaḥ, 378
Ājīvika, 219, 253, 238
Akarāvanti, 336, 345, 421
Akbar, 196
Akouphis, 165
Akshadarśa, 352n
Akshapaṭal-âdhikṛita, Keeper of the Records, 380
Akshāvāpa, 119
Ālāra, 131
Alasanda, Alexandria, 178, 208, 261
Ālavī, Alabhiyā, Ālavaka, 132f, 208, 366
Alexander of Corinth, 226
Alexander of Epirus, 225f, 415
Alexander the Great, 23, 154f, 162f, 175ff, 286, 349
Alexandria in Sind, 177
Alikasudara, 226
Allakappa, 130f
Allitrochades, 200
Ālupas, 435
Amachcha, Amātya, 122, 146, 189ff, 192ff, 216, 349, 355
Amarakaṇṭaka Hill, 205
Amātyaguṇa, 348
Amātya, see Amachcha
Ambarīsha, 72
Ambashṭha, Āmbaṭṭha, see Abastanoi, 172f
Āmbāshṭhya, 121, 173n
Āmbhi, 166, 175f
Ambhiyas, 166
Amgiya family, 282f
Amita Tosala, 207n
Amitraghāta, Amitrakhāda, Amitrachates, see Bindusāra.
Ammarāja I, 397
Āmrakārddava, 380
Aṁta, 214
Aṁta-mahāmātras, 215
Aṁtekina, 226
Aṁtiyaka, 415n
Amyntas, 287
Ānaṁda, 282
Ānanda (Saint), 368n
Anantadevī, 385f, 394
Anantanemi, 133n
Anantapāla (Daṇḍanāyaka), 392n

Anantavarman, 406
Ānarta, 317, 344, 421
Anaśvā, 10
Ānava, 172
Ancestry of Chandragupta, 180, 242
Andhaka, 97f
Andhapura, 64
Andhau Inscriptions, 332, 344
Āndhra, 64, 212f, 275, 406
Andhrabhṛityas, 269, 272, 275f
Andhrāpatha, 64, 336, 341n
Androkottus, see Chandra Gupta Maurya
Androsthenes, 247, 260
Aṅga, 67f, 75f, 82, 93, 101, 107, 121, 132, 136, 138, 145, 207, 210, 406
Āṅgirasa, 99n, 241
Angria, 340
Angulimāla, 135
An-Shih-Kao, 319
Antapāla, 215
Antarvaṁśika, 119
Antarvedī, 365, 381, 390
Antialkidas, Aṁtalikita, 264, 271, 287, 297, 352
Antigonos Gonatas, 225f, 415
Antimachos, 286
Antiochos Soter, 415n
Antiochos Theos, 202, 208, 214, 225f, 415n
Antiochos the Great, 247, 260f, 286
Anu, 42, 97
Anupa, 336, 344
Anupanīvṛid, 421
Anupiyā, 89
Anuruddha, 146, 152
Anusaṁyāna, 217, 229
Anuvinda, 102
Anyataplakshā, 16
Apachara, 91, see Upachara
Apāchya, 112
Apara Matsyas, 97
Aparānta, 213, 336, 340, 345, 421
Āpayā, 16
Aphamiotae, 174
Apheterion, 206n
Aphrikes, 164
Āpiśali, 171
Apollodotos, Philopator, 264n, 266, 286
Apollodotos Soter, 264n
Apollophanes, 286
Āpri Odes, 17
Arachoti, 288n
Ārakshādhikṛita, 353
Aramaic, 162, 350n
Arantuka, 16
Archebios, 287
Archon, 85
Ardeshir Bābagān, 327
Arei, 288n
Argaru (Uraga-pura), 434
Ariake, 331
Arikiṇa, 365, 381, 401, 426
Arishṭa, Ariṭṭha, Janaka, 37, 56
Ariṭṭhapura, 170
Arjuna, king of Kanauj, 410
Arjuna (Matsya), 97
Arjuna Pāṇḍava, 54, 86, 371
Ārjunāyanas, 349, 371
Arminius, 179
Arsa, 303
Arsakes (Parthian), 260
Arsakes (Uraśā), 166
Arshika, 336n
Arṭa, 302n
Ārtabhāga, 38
Artemidorus, 7n, 287
Arthachintakas, 348
Arthaśāstra, 7n, 348
Arthavidyā, 7n, 348
Aruṇā, 16
Aruṇa, king, 102
Aruṇa (sage), 42
Āruṇi, 15n, 21, 31f, 33, 36, 38, 40f, 46, 50, 52, 54, 56
Aryaka, 147f
Asaka, 336
Asandhimitrā, 251
Āsandivant, 16, 23f
Āshādhasena, 270
Ashṭaka, 160, 176
Asiani, 289
Asii, 288
Asika, 336
Asiknī, 47
Asitamṛiga, 24
Aśmaka, Assaka, Asaka, 62, 64, 67, 100f, 121n, 155, 160, 164, 206n, 310
Aśoka (in the epic), 4
Asokachandra, 139
Aśoka Maurya, 6, 63, 82, 97, 104n, 127, 178, 189, 200ff, 257n, 350, 378, 415ff, 431
Aśokeśvara, 209
Aspasian, 163f, 176
Aspavarma, 299, 301f, 310, 355
Aspionus, 288
Assagetes (Aśvajit ?), 176
Assakenoi, 101, 165
Assalāyana, Āśvalāyana, 6, 21, 33, 53f, 61, 73, 111, 165
Assapura, 91
Assembly of Village Headmen, 122, 138, 195
Assyrians, 160, 366n
Astakenians, 160, 164f, 176
Astes, 165, 176
Astynomoi, 194
Asura (Buddhist), 4
Asuravijaya, 366n
Āsurāyaṇa, 32, 54
Āsuri, 32, 54
Aśvaghosha, 81, 324, 326
Aśvajit, see Assagetes, 176
Aśvaka, 281, 284n, 336
Aśvala, 38, 53
Āśvalāyana, see Assalāyana
Aśvamedha, 11f, 14n, 24, 27, 31, 69, 98 121, 258, 282, 328, 373n, 374, 384, 410
Aśvamedhadatta, 27, 29, 46, 54
Aśvamedha Mahendra, 384n
Aśvamedha Parākrama, 3

Aśvapati, King of the Kekayas, 36, 42
Aśvapati, King of the Madras, 43, 406
Aśvasena, 69
Āśvatarāśvi, 31f, 36, 42
Aśvatthāman, 253, 341n
Aśvavārakas, 353
Aṭavi, 208
Āṭavika, 364, 366
Āṭavya, 65, 208, 211
Aṭhama, 300
Athene, 286
A-tien p'o-chih-lo, 420
Ātmapāsaṇḍa-pūjā, 221
Āṭṇāra, 57, 72f, 121, 138
Attivarman, 367, 368n
Auchchamanyava, see Girikshit
Audayantrika, 354
Augustus, 315
Aupamanyava, 42, 105f
Avaha, 68
Āvāha, 220n
Avamukta, 366f
Avanti, 67, 80, 101f, 132f, 144f, 239, 336, 391n
Avantiputta, 100, 132
Avantiraṭṭha, 195
Avantivardhana, 148
Avantivarman, 409, 423
Avikshit, 10, 114
Aya, 309
Ayama, 331
Ayaputta, 214, 218
Ayasi-Kamuia, 302n, 350
Ayāsya, 54
Ayodhyā, 52, 70f, 74f, 155
Āyogava, 114
Āyu, 18
Āyukta, Āyuktaka, 215, 381
Azes I, 289, 290, 298f, 317n, 330, 334n, 352, 355
Azes II, 299f, 302, 309
Azilises, 299f, 334n

B

Babhru, 98
Babylon, 70
Bactria, 19
Bactrian, 4, 162, 184, 288
Bactriana, 260f, 288
Bactrian Greeks, 259ff
Bādhi Nala, 88
Baḍ-Kāmta, 370
Baghelkhand, 254
Bāhaka, 346
Bahapatimitra, 255
Bahasati, 238
Bahasatimitra, 228, 270, see Bṛihaspatimitra
Bahli, 19
Bahraich, 71
Bahulāśva, 34, 57
Bairāṭ, see Virāṭanagara
Baithan, see Pratishṭhāna
Bajji, 68
Baktrioi, 364n
Balādhikaraṇa, 382
Balādhyaksha, 194
Bālāditya I, see Narasiṁha Gupta
Bālāditya II, 385n, 401
Bālāditya-deva, 423
Bālāki, 44
Balapradhāna, 194
Balaśrī, 235, 337, 350
Balavarman, 363
Balhika, 18
Bali, 354
Balipragraha, 217
Balkh, 42, 416
Bamhana, 280
Bāṇagaḍ Inscription, 386
Banda, 91
Bandhula, 90, 135
Bandhupālita, 237f, 251
Bandhuvarman, 384
Baṅga, 67
Banskhera Plate, 386
Barābar Hill Cave Inscription, 406
Bārā Baṅkī, 406
Bārāṇasī, Benares, 50f, 68f, 71, 76, 81, 85, 109, 115f, 123, 132f, 146
Bārāṇasiggaho, 110
Barbara, 39
Barbaricum, 295, 310, 421
Bareilly, 47, 94
Bārhadratha, 80
Bārhadrathapura, 78
Bārhaspatya, 166n, 172
Barsaentes, 163
Barygaza, 262, 286n
Basileus Basileon, 300
Basti 130
Batoi, 434
Beas, 41, 155
Behistun, 152
Benākaṭaka Svāmi, 338
Benares, see Bārāṇasī,
Berar, 60, 63
Besatae, 210
Besnagar Inscription, 271
Besnagar Seal, 262
Bessus, 162f
Betul plates, 391
Bhadavānīya monks, 338
Bhaddasāla, 158, 182
Bhaddiya, 76
Bhadrādevī, 146
Bhadra Ghosha, 269
Bhadraka, Ārdraka, Odruka, Andhraka, Antaka, 270
Bhadramukha, 334
Bhadrasena, son of Ajātaśatru of Kāsī, 59
Bhadrasena, son of Kālāsoka, 149
Bhadravāhu, 199
Bhadrayaśas, 290
Bhāga, 354
Bhāgabhadra, 270, 285, 297

Bhagadatta, 408
Bhāgadugha, 119
Bhagala, 170
Bhagalpur, 76
Bhāga Śuṅga, 271
Bhāgavata (King), 271f
Bhāgavata religion, 271, 273
Bhaggas, 93, 130f
Bhagīratha, 72
Bhāgīrathi, 94
Bhāgyadevī, 387
Bhajeratha, 72
Bhalānases, 170
Bhallāṭa, 70
Bhallāṭiya, 70
Bhāllaveya, see Indradyumna
Bhāṇḍāgāra, 354
Bhāṇḍāgārika, 353
Bhānumant, 56f
Bhānu Gupta, 402
Bhāradvājas, 252
Bhāradvāja, Sukeśā, 53, 73, 111
Bhāraśivas, 328, 374
Bhārata, 239
Bharata Dāśarathi, 36, 42
Bharata Dauḥshanti, 18f, 62, 98, 121
Bharata dynasty, 42, 92, 100
Bharata of Sovīra, 101
Bharatas, 17f, 48, 50
Bhāratavarsha, 285
Bhārata War, 1, 5f, 9, 14, 20n, 25, 57, 92f
Bhārati, 17
Bharatpur, 44
Bharga, see Bhagga
Bhārgava, 61
Bhārgāyaṇa, 131
Bhārhut, 267, 273
Bhārhut Gallery, 145, 149
Bharsar hoard of coins, 395
Bhartṛidāman, 347
Bhāsa, see Bibliographical Index
Bhāskara, 410
Bhāskaravarman, 410
Bhaṭamanushyas, 353
Bhaṭārka, 427
Bhaṭāśvapati, 382
Bhaṭṭiprolu Inscription, 212n
Bhaṭṭiya, 76, 78, 82, 129, 133
Bhaujya, 113f
Bhava Nāga, 328
Bherighosha, 222
Bhikshukis (spies), 198
Bhikshurāja, 350
Bhilsa, Vidiśā, 65, 213
Bhīma, Pāṇḍava, 25, 94n
Bhīma, King of Vidarbha, 58, 61, 99, 103
Bhīm sena, Pārikshita, 10f, 27, 29, 121
Bhīma Varman, 390
Bhir mound, 39
Bhitarī Inscription, 384, 386
Bhoga (clan), 82, 84
Bhoganagara, 89
Bhogavarman, 410
Bhogavatī, 378
Bhoja, Dāṇḍakya, 58, 63
Bhoja II (Pratihāra), 394n
Bhojaka, 284, 382
Bhojakaṭa, 63
Bhojanagara, 44
Bhojas, 62f, 98f, 112, 114, 212f
Bhṛigukachchha, 453
Bhūdeva, 242
Bhujyu, 30, 38
Bhukti, 355, 381
Bhūmaka, 330, 343n
Bhūmimitra, 269, 274
Bhūtapāla, 156
Bhūtavīras, 24
Bihār, 33 78, 83f, 410
Bijayagaḍh, 371
Bijjala, 253n
Bikramajit, 351n
Bilsaḍ Inscription, 380n, 384n
Bimbaka, 252n
Bimbasārapuri see Girivraja
Bimbisāra, 2, 6, 8, 67, 71, 75, 78, 81f, 88f, 95f, 104, 110f, 121, 123, 127, 129f, 137f, 146f, 152f, 220n
Bindusāra, Amitraghāta, 181, 200ff, 206, 252n
Bisi, 210
Boards of Five, 194f
Boddas 417
Bodhgayā, 373
Bodhi, 131
Bodhisattva, 233
Bo-tree 417
Boukephala, 177f
Brachmans, 174
Brahmadatta of Aṅga, 77f, 82, 132, 138
Brahmadatta of Assaka, 62, 101, 121n
Brahmadatta of Kāśī, 51f, 68f, 75
Brahmadatta of Kosala, 133n
Brahmadatta of Pañchāla, 95
Brahmadatta (Uparika-Mahārāja), 399
Brahmakshatra, 93
Brahmamitra, 270
Brahmarshideśa, 45
Brahmavaddhana, 50
Bṛihadratha, 80
Bṛihadratha Maurya, 237, 240f, 252, 254
Bṛihaduktha, 58, 95
Bṛihaspati Mitra, 255, 285
Bṛihaspati Vāk, 119
Bṛihat phalāyanas, 341f
Buddha Gupta, 385, 396
Budha Gupta, 321, 391, 399f, 425, 431
Buddha Tathāgata, the Blessed One, 3, 4n, 21f, 33, 70f, 73f, 76, 79f, 87, 110f, 134, 141, 152, 220, 232, 384, 417
Buddhavarman, 341 n
Buddhist Council, 148, 235, 324
Buḍila, see Āśvatarāśvi
Bulis, 130f
Bumodus, 163
Bundelkhand, 90

C

Cacouthes, 130n
Caesar, 114
Calingae, 206
Cambodia, 104
Cambyses, 160
Camoje, 105
Canakka, 132n
Candagutta (Maurya), 132
Cannanore, 183
Care of foreigners, 198
Caryanda, 161
Cashṭana, 422, see Chashṭana
Cathaeans, 168
Caturmahārājika, 4
Caucasus, 247, 260
Caumojee, 105
Ceylon, 81, 153, 225
Chaharata, see Kshaharāta
Chaitya, 98, 324n
Chaityaka, 78
Chaidyoparichara, see Vasu Chedi
Chaikitāyana, 49
Chākra, 124
Chakrakūṭa, 455
Chakrapālita, 390
Chakravarman, 398
Chakravarti, 219, 350, 351n
Chakravarti-Kshetra, 184n
Chākrāyaṇa, 28, 30, 38, 46
Chalikya, 405, 406
Chalukyas, 342n, 405, 411
Chalukyas (Eastern), 397
Chambal, 94, 97
Chammak Grant, 63
Champā City, 76f, 93, 132f, 138f, 144
Champānagara, 76
Champāpura, 76
Champā River, 75
Chāṇakya, see Canakka, 200, 220n
Chan-chu, 132
Chaṇḍāla, 379
Chandanā, 77
Chaṇḍa Pradyota Mahāsena, 81, 136
Chaṇḍasena, 359n
Chandra of the Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription, 328f, 364n
Chandrabālā, see Chandanā
Chandragiri, 199
Chandra Gupta I, 359n, 361ff
Chandra Gupta II, 150, 328f, 343, 347, 362, 363n, 368, 375, 387, 409n, 412, 428, 431
Chandragupta Maurya, 20, 158, 178ff, 194, 247, 415n
Chandragupta's government, 188f
Chandragupta Munipati, 199
Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya, 376ff, see Chandra Gupta II
Chandrāṁśa, 328, 364n
Chandrasuta, 70
Chandravarman, 363f
Chandravarman of Kamboja, 106
Chāṇḍur, 61
Chang-K'ien, 312
Chapaḍa, 218
Chāra, 91, 217
Charaka, 324
Chārāyaṇa, 135, 140
Chariot race, 118
Charles Emanuel III, 166
Charles Martel, 179
Chārsadda, 39
Charshaṇī, 120
Chashṭana, 295, 305, 320 n, 332 ff, 343 f, 352, 422
Chatarapana, see Vāsishṭhīputra Chatarapana Śātakarṇī
Chatta, 74
Chauroddharaṇika, 381
Checks on absolutism, 120f
Chedis, 45, 67, 90f, 96, 107
Che-ka, 420
Chellanā, 86, 137, 139f
Chellur grant, 11, 14
Cheng-ti, 292
Chera, 224
Cheṭaka, 86f, 137, 140f
Chetas, 275ff, 283ff
Chetis, 275
Chetiya, see Chedi
Chhahara, 301
Chhavillākara, 209
Chicacole, 62n
China, 426
Chināb (Chenab) 47, 168
Chinese Turkestan, 312
Chirātadatta, 384
Chir Stūpa, 320
Chitor, 263
Chitrakūṭa, 426
Chitraratha, 53
Chitrasena, 10
Chola, 223
Cholika Vishaya, 223
Choramārgaṇa, 217
Chora Rajju, 216
Chora Rajjukas, 216
Chouang'mo, Chouang-mi, 313
Chuksha, 301
Chulani, 95f
Churṇī, 224
Cleisobora, 97
Coconada grant, 11
Cochin China, 76
Codomannus, 162, 176, 295n
Coimbatore, 183, 224
Conjeeveram, 367
Cophaeus, see Kophaios, 176
Cophen see Kābul, 160
Coronation Oath, see Oath, 120
Courts of Justice, 189, 192
Craterus, 226
Cretans, 174
Cromer, 197
Cutch, 332, 334
Cyclic Ākhyāna, 121
Cyrene, 225
Cyrus, 160

D

Dabbasena, 110
Ḍabhālā, 381, 401
Daddarapura, 91
Dabok, 240
Dadhivāhana, 77, 93, 121
Dahæ, 176
Dahrasena, 340n
Daivāpa, see Śaunaka, Indrota Daivāpa
Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi, 373
Daivāvṛidha, 97f
Dakash, 98n
Daksha, 98n
Dākshāyaṇa Sacrifice, 94
Dakshiṇā diś, 112
Dakshiṇa Mathurā, 223
Dakshiṇāpadā, 60
Dakshiṇāpatha, 60, 102, 196
Dakshiṇāpatha-pati, 281
Dākshiṇātya, 60, 101
Dālbhya Chaikitāyana, 50
Dālbhya Keśin, 49f, 131
Damaghosha, 91
Dāmaghsada I, 346ff
Dāmajada Śrī, 347
Damana, 366
Dāmasena, 347
Damijada (or Namijada), 297
Dāmodara Gupta, 407, 408, 424
Dāmodarpur plates, 370, 381, 384n, 399
Daṇḍa (Penalties), 216
Daṇḍaka, 58, 64, 101, 213
Daṇḍaki, 58
Daṇḍanāyaka, 353
Daṇḍa-paś-ādhikaraṇa, 382
Daṇḍa-pāśika, 382
Daṇḍa Samatā, 242f
Daṇḍika, 63, 381
Danish invasion, 178
Dantakūra, 62, 206n
Dantapura-nagara, 62, 206n
Dantavaktra, 62n
Darius I, 104, 152, 161f, 351
Darius III, 162f, 276, 295n
Darśaka, 143f
Dārvābhisāra, 166
Dārayavaush, 161
Daśapura, 331, 428
Daśaratha (Ikshvāku), 53, 72
Daśaratha Maurya, 237f
Daśārṇa, 65, 67
Dasasiddhaka, 156
Dasyu tribe, 64f
Dattadevī, 376
Dattāmitra, 4, 262
Dāttāmitrī, 262
Dattas of Puṇḍravardhana, 403
Dattabhaṭa, 381n
Dauḥshanti, see Bharata Dauḥshanti, 18
Ḍavāka, 370
Deccan, 60f, 101, 156, 211, 345
Dekaka (Dacca), 370n
Deimachos, 202
Delhi, 93
Demetriaspolis, 262
Demetrios, 4, 260ff, 285n, 286
Democracies, see Saṅghas
Derabhaṭa, 427n
Deśa, 355f, 381
Deśādhikṛita, 356
Description of Pāṭaliputra, 186f, 378
Deshmukh, 356
Deśika, 194n
Devabhūmi, 272
Devabhūti, 272, 275
Devachandra, 150
Deva Ṣravas, 17
Deva Gupta I, 150, 376, 409n
Deva Gupta II, 409, 410
Deva Gupta III, 411
Devakīputra, 99
Devakulas, 325, 350f
Devanaṁpiya, 133, 200, 221
Devanāṁpiya Daśaratha, 239
Devanāṁpiya Piyadasi, 205, 350
Devanāṁpiya Tissa, 225
Devapāla, 394, 430
Devāpi, 115
Devaputra, 314, 320, 326, 350f
Devaputra Kanishka, 373
Devarāja, 376
Devarāshṭra, 366, 368f
Devarāta, 54
Devas, 221, 243
Devaśrī, 376
Devavarman, 237, 239f, 392n
Devavāta, 17
Devī, 350
Devikā, 421
Dhamma, Law of Piety, 107
Dhammadeva, 213
Dhamma ghosha, 222
Dhammanigama, 356
Dhammaniyama, 234n
Dhamma Vijaya, 208, 222, 236, 250, 366, 368
Dhammayutas, 233
Dhamñakaḍa, 212n
Dhana (Nanda), 156f
Dhanabhūti, 359
Dhanada-Varuṇendrāntaka-sama, 380
Dhanaṁjaya, 366
Dhanañjaya Koravya, 94
Dhanika, 240
Dhaññakaḍa, 64, see Dhamñakaḍa
Dhanyavishṇu, 400f
Dhārā, 406n
Dharapaṭṭa, 394n
Dharasena I of (Valabhi), 427
Dharasena IV (Valabhi), 427
Dharma, see Dhamma
Dharmāditya, 374
Dharmāditya (Śīlāditya I), 427n
Dharma-mahāmātras, 203, 214, 229f, 243f
Dharma-Mahārājādhirāja, 350
Dharmapāla, 430
Dharmāraṇya-Vihāra, 209
Dharmāśoka, 205
Dharmasthas, 192n

Dharmavijayī, 366, 368
Dharmayuta, 229f
Dharma-Yuvamahārāja, 350
Dharma-vivardhana, 238
Dhataraṭṭha of Aṅga, 77, 101
Dhauli, 207
Dhavala, 240, 391
Dhavalappadeva, 240
Dhṛishṭadyumna, 15n, 48
Dhṛishṭaketu, 91
Dhṛitarāshṭra, Prince of Kāśī, 15n, 27 50, 61f, 101, 121n
Dhṛitarāshṭra Vaichitravīrya, 6, 15n, 18, 238, 334n
Dhṛiti, 34
Dhruvabhaṭa, 427n
Dhruva-Devī, 347n, 383
Dhruva-sena II, 427
Dhruvasvāminī, 382
Dhumrāśva, 84
Dhvasan Dvaitavana, 45
Dhvaja-stambha, 400
Dibbida Plates, 97
Digha Chārāyaṇa, see Chārāyaṇa
Dīghati (Dīghīti), 75, 109, 123
Dīghāvu, 123
Digvijaya, 207
Diodotos I (King of Bactria), 260, 286, 288
Diodotos II, 260
Diomedes, 287
Dion, 271
Dionysios, Ambassador, 202, 286
Dionysus god, 164
Dioskouri, 287
Dīrgha Chārāyaṇa, 135
Divākara, 75, 80
Divākarasena, 383
Divodāsa Pañchāla, 48, 51
Diya (Dion), 271
Doāb, see Antarvedī, 16, 19, 94
Dosarene, 454
Drangians, 288f
Drangianian house, 422
Drāviḍa, 86
Dravidian, 64, 86
Dṛiḍhavarman, 78, 136
Dṛishadvatī (Chitang-Rakshī), 16, 18
Dṛiti, 28, 31, 46, 54
Droṇa of Veṭhadīpa, 131
Droṇa of the Epic, 15n, 253
Droṇamukha, 192n
Droṇa Siṁha, 427
Druhyu, 97
Drupada, 48
Dummukha Lichchhavi, 87
Dummukha Pañchāla, 49, 57f, 95, 103
Durdharā, 200
Durga-rāshṭra-daṇḍa-mukhyas, 193n
Durmukha, see Dummukha Pañchāla
Duryodhana, 334n
Dushṭāmātyāḥ, 201
Dushṭaritu, 124
Dūta, 119, 215, 218, 354
Dutia Devī, 350
Dvairājya, 334n, 351f
Dvaitavana, 45
Dvārakā, 106, 344
Dvimukha, see Dummukha Pañchāla

E

Eastern Chalukya, 397
Eḍukas, 4
Egypt, 161, 225, 236
Eka-Bamhana, see Bamhana, 280
Ekachakrā, 47
Ekarāṭ, 117, 155
Ekbatana, 187
Elilmalai, 183
Ellore, 355
Embers Tope, 132
Emetreus, 262
Endapilli, 367
Epander, 287
Ephori, 197
Epirus, 225
Episkopoi, 197
Era of Samprati, 257
Eraṇ, see Arikiṇa
Eraṇḍapali, 367
Eraṇḍapalla, 366f
Eraṇḍol, 369
Erannobaos, 186
Eryx, 164
Etruscans, 142
Euaspla, 163
Eudemos, 177
Eukratides, 223n, 263ff, 286f, 300n, 334n
Euthydemia, 262, 287
Euthydemos, 260, 266, 286
Euthymedia, 262, 287

F

Farna-dāta, see Parṇa-datta, 390n
Fei-she-li, 83
Female guards, 188
Fo-to-kio-to, 385, 396n, 399
Fu-li-chih, 83
Furrukhabad, 47

G

Gad, 308
Gadāra, 104, 161, 238
Gahapatis, 356
Gaggarā, 77
Gamjavara, 353
Gaṇapati Nāga, 328, 363f
Gaṇarājas, 87, 90, 142
Gandaris, 40, 168
Gandhāra, 38f, 57, 61, 67, 90, 99, 103f, 132, 137, 152, 160f, 162, 165, 168, 173n, 209, 213, 246, 322f
Gandhāri, 40, 76, 79

Gaṅgā, 16f, 47, 62, 66, 76, 88, 92, 132, 144, 157
Gaṅgas of Mysore, 94
Gangaridae, 157, 177, 201, 210
Ganges, see Gaṅgā
Gardabhilla, 317n
Gārgī, 38
Gārgya Bālāki, 44, 52
Garuḍa Pillar Inscription, 270
Gauḍaka, 430
Gauḍas, 405, 407, 409ff, 424, 429, 430
Gauls, 142
Gaulmikas, 353
Gauṛālāyana, see Śuchivṛiksha, 28
Gautama, Aruṇa Aupaveśi, see Aruṇa (sage), 42
Gautamī Balaśrī, see Balaśrī, 235
Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, 146, 276n, 280, 290, 294, 334f, 336f, 355
Gaya, 80, 381
Gayā, 75, 77, 78
Gedrosia, 160
Ghaṭāka, 306, 330
Ghaṭotkacha (Gupta), 359n, 360
Ghaṭotkacha Gupta, prince, 381, 384
Ghora Āṅgirasa, 99, 241
Ghosha, see Bhadra-ghosha, 269
Girikshit, 28
Girinagara (Girnar), 213
Girivraja (in Kekaya), 41f, 78
Girivraja (in Magadha), 42, 78, 80, 92, 129, 146f
Glauchukāyana, 167n
Glauganikai, Glausians, 167
Go'dhyaksha, 195
Gomatīkoṭṭaka, 411
Gomitra, 275
Gonarda, 273
Goṇḍa, 430
Gondophernes, 291, 299, 302, 308ff, 352, 355
Gopa, 199
Gopachandra, 430
Gopāla, 147f, 386
Gopālaka, 136
Gopālī Vaihidarī, 270
Goparāja, 401f
Goptṛi, 215, 217, 253, 281, 427
Gorathagiri, 78, 284
Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta, 142, 219
Goshṭhis, 357
Gotama Buddha, see Buddha Tathāgata, 233
Gotama Rāhugaṇa, 35
Govardhana Mount, 4
Govardhana (city), 64, 338, 355
Govikartana, 119
Govinda II, 394n
Govindachandra Gāhaḍavāla, 235
Govinda Gupta, 381f, 383
Govind, Guru, 43
Govindarāja, 251
Grahavarman, 407, 409, 429
Grāma, 356, 382
Grāmabhṛitaka, 199
Grāmāhāra, 356
Grāmaṇī, 116, 119, 122f, 356
Grāmavṛiddha, 136, 199, 356
Grāmeyika Āyutta, 356
Grāmikas, 195, 199, 356, 382
Grāmabhojaka, 356
Graṇavhryaka, 301
Greeks, 4, 128, see Bactrian Greeks
Gṛihapatika, 198
Grumbates, 327n, 373n
Gudaṇa, 352
Gūḍha-Purusha, 197, 217
Guṇabhara, 223
Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana, see Śānkhāyana, 21f, 33
Gupta administration, 379ff
Gupta Era, 361
Gupta (King), 360
Gupta Mahārājā, see Gupta (King), 360
Guptas (Early), 5, 359f, 425f
Guptas (Later), 391ff, 404, 423, 424
Guraeans, 163
Gurjara, 86, 428
Gusana, see Kushān
Gushtasp, 416
Guttas (Kanarese), 383, 412

H

Hagāmāsha, 302, 352
Hagāna, 302, 352
Haihaya, 67, 102f, 155
Hairaṇyanābha, 72f
Hakuśrī, 283
Hāla, 278n, 279n
Halla, 139f
Han Dynasty, 292
Han-Shu, 293
Harappa, 2
Hariśchandra, 72, 74, 116, 245
Harishena Vākāṭaka king, 340n, 390, 412, 431
Harishena, Praśastikāra and General, 369, 374, 380n
Hāritīputra Śiva-Skanda-Varman, 342
Hāritīputra Vishṇukaḍa Chuṭakulānanda Śātakarṇi, 342
Harivarman, 406
Haro, river, 39
Harsha of Kanauj, 78, 386, 392, 407-410, 423, 424, 427, 429, 430, 431
Harsha Gupta, 404, 406
Harsha Guptā, 406
Haryaṅka-kula, 81, 129, 131, 152
Hasti, see Astes, 165
Hastidasanā, 232
Hastin, 401
Hāstinapura, 16, 24, 27f, 46, 92, 94f
Hastivarman, 366f, 368n
Hāthi Gumphā inscription, 150f, 255, 258, 276
Hathisiṁha, 284n
Hatthigāma, 84
Hatthipura, 91

Heliodoros, son of Diya (Dion), 271, 287
Heliokles, 264ff, 287
Helots, 174
Hemachandra, King, 84
Hephaestion, 165
Herakles, 224
Hermaios, 264, 287, 290, 299, 310, 314
Hidus, 161
Hientu, 293
Hieou-mi, 313
Hi-heou, 313
Hima, see Wema Kadphises
Himavanta, 70, 113
Himsrikās, 195
Hippokoura, 454
Hippostratos, 286, 298
Hīrahadagalli, 279, 341n
Hiraṇyavāha, 186n
Hiraṇvatī, 16
Hiraṇyanābha, 53, 72f, 111
Hiraṇyavatī, 88
Hi-thun, 313
Hi-touen, 313
Hiung-nū, 292, 312f
Hohenzollern, 124
Ho-ling, 206n
Hormisdas, 329
Ho-ti, 315, 323
Hoysalas, 456
Hsüan-ti, 292
Huṇas, 172, 329, 387ff, 408, 425ff
Hushka, 317
Hushaka-pura, 325
Huvishka, 317f, 325f, 352, 419, 422
Hydaspes, 165f, 176f, 288
Hydaspes, battle of, 176f
Hydraces, 160

I

Ibhyagrāma, 46
Ibbyas, 229
Ibrāhim Ludi, 182
Ikhnaton, 236
Ikshvāku, 34, 53, 73f, 80, 84, 89, 101, 116, 130, 155, 341
Indapatta, see Indraprastha
Indo-Greeks, 286ff, see Bactrian Greeks
Indo-Scythians, 292ff, 303ff
Indra, 99
Indradatta, 340n
Indradyumna, 42
Indra Jyeshṭha, 119
Indra Mitra, 270
Indra-pālita, 237, 239
Indraprastha, Indrapatta, Indrapattana, 26, 29, 68, 93f, 132
Indrasena, 10
Indravarma, 302
Indra Vṛitrahan, see Vṛitrahan
Indrota Daivāpa (Daivāpi) Śaunaka, 11, 14n, 15n, 24, 28, 31, 32, 33, 54
Indravatī, 43
Irrigation in the Maurya Period, 193
Iśānavarman (Maukhari), 404, 406, 409, 424, 429, 432
Ishukāra, 94
Isila, 208, 211, 215
Iśvaradatta, 340n, 346,
Īśvarasena, 340
Īśvaravarman, 406
Isfendiyād, 416
Ithiḥbaka-mahāmātras, 216
Itihāsas, 26

J

Jābāla, 42
Jaivali, 49, 95, 124
Jala Jātukarṇya, 50
Jalauka, 237f, 246, 250n
Jālika, 149
Jalodbhava, 35n
Jambudvīpa, 68, 132
Janaka (father of Sītā), 34, 59
Janaka of Kāsī, 50
Janaka of the Upanishads, 3, 14n, 15n, 20, 28, 30f, 44f, 54f, 122
Janakapur, 33, 82
Janakavaṁśa, 34, 36
Janamejaya, 2f, 10f, 22f, 46, 92, 103, 120
Janapada, 215n, 355
Janapada-sandhi, 192n
Jana Śārkarākshya, 42
Janaśruti, 114
Jānibighā Inscription, 305
Jarāsandha, 80
Jāratkārava, 38
Jaya (Itihāsa), 26
Jayadāman, 305, 333f, 344
Jayadatta, 400
Jayadeva, 356
Jayanāga, 356, 430
Jayaskandhāvāra, 395, 411
Jayatsena, 97
Jethamitra, 269f
Jettuttara, Jetuttara, 133, 170
Jih-kwan, same as Āditya Sena, 411n
Jihonika, 298, 302, 315
Jina, 83, 96, 104, 156, 209
Jinaprabhasuri, 238
Jīvadāman, 346
Jīvaka, 137
Jīvita Gupta I, 404, 405
Jīvita Gupta II, 411, 423
Jiyasattu, 133
Jñātrikas, 82f
Jogaltembhi, 335
Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription, 7n, 184, 190n, 192n, 205.
Jung-k'ü, 292
Jushka, 317, 325
Jyeshṭha, see Vasu Jyeshṭha, 269

K

Kabandhī Kātyāyana, 21, 54
Kābul, 153f, 160, 325, 327
Kācha, 363, 374
Kachchāna, 100

Kachchāyana, see Pakudha
Kachchha, 344, 421
Kāçi-cloth, 34
Kadambas, 253, 278f, 340ff, 412
Kadphises I, 321n, 325, see Kujula
Kadphises II, 321n, 323, 326
Kāfiristān, 105
Kahola Kaushitaki, 21, 54
Kairiśi Sutvan, 131
Kaisara, 326, 351
Kaivarta (king), 156
Kākanāda (Sāñchī), 372
Kākas, 371f
Kākakarṇa, 79
Kākatīyas, 435
Kākavarṇa, 79, 148f, 154
Kakshasena, 10, 13, 28f, 54
Kākshaseni, 28
Kakuda Kachchāyana, see Pakudha
Kākūpur, 372
Kākusthavarman, 342n, 412
Kākutstha, 84
Kalabhras, 436
Kālachampā, 76
Kalachuri Era, 319
Kalachuris, 428
Kalaga, 139
Kālakañja, 228
Kālāmas, 130
Kalāra Janaka, see Karāla
Kalasa, 305n
Kālasena, 74
Kālāśoka, 147f, 152f
Kālidāsa, 63, 259, 383n
Kālindī, 400
Kaliṅga, 57, 61f, 82, 95, 101, 104, 121n, 136, 138, 150f, 155f, 196, 205ff, 219
Kaliṅga-nagara, 62
Kallil Āttiraiyanār, 183
Kallār, 327n, 329
Kalliope, Calliope, 264
Kalsigrāma, 261
Kalyāṇa, 91
Kāmandaka, 5
Kāmarūpa, 211, 370, 408, 410, 423
Kamboja, 39, 67, 105f, 160, 165, 196, 208, 210
Kaṁchaṇa-pura, 62
Kammāssadamma, 94
Kāmpilya, Kampilla, 47, 49, 94f, 133
Kaṁsa of Kosala, 110
Kaṁsa of Mathurā, 99
Kamvuja, 104
Kāmyaka, 11, 16
Kanakagiri, 211n
Kanakhala, 44
Kāñchī, 224, 341n, 367
Kanishka I, 316ff
Kanishka II, 317, 351f
Kanishka III, 326n
Kanishka-pura, 323
Kaṅka, 119
Kaṇṭaka-śodhana, 192n, 217
Kantha, 44, 168
Kāntipurī, 328
Kāṇvas, 242, 269, 274ff
Kanyākubja, Kanauj, 96, 406n, 409f, 412, 427
Kao-fou, 311, 313, 327
Kāpaṭika, 198
Kāpeya, 28
Kapilavastu, Kapilāvata, 70, 73, 111, 130f
Kāpiśa, 160, 264n, 327
Kāpiśi, 160, 287, 330
Kapsha, 311
Kāpya Patañchala, 30, 43
Kārā, 139
Karakaṇḍu, 104
Karāla, 57f, 67
Karaṇḍu, 57, 61, 95
Kāraskara Origin of Guptas, 359n
Karatai, 296
Kārddamaka, 296, 343, 422
Karmmānta, 370
Karmāntika, 354
Karma Sachivas, 192n, 353
Karṇa, 105, 107
Karṇasuvarṇa, 211, 405, 410, 427, 430
Karṇāṭa, 368n
Kareoi, 434
Karoura, 434
Kartṛipura, 370
Kārusha, 65
Kāruvākī, 234, 237
Kāsi, Kāśi, Kāśī, 38, 50f, 59, 61, 67, 75, 87, 92, 101f, 110f, 121n, 123, 133, 138f, 147, 155
Kasia, 88f
Kāsīputra Bhāgabhadra, 270, 287
Kāśmīra, Kaśmīra, 43, 103, 209, 238, 246, 293, 324, 329
Kaspapyros, 103
Kaspeiroioi, 304
Kassapiya Arhats, 270
Kassites, 98n
Kaśu Chaidya, 91
Kaśyapa Mātaṅga, 326
Kaśyapa-pura, 103
Kaśyapas, 24
Kaṭachchuris, see Kalachuris
Kaṭha, 44, 168
Kathaians, 176
Kathaioi, 44, 168
Katur (Katuria or Katyur) rājas, 371
Kauṇḍinya, Vidarbhī, 54, 61
Kaurāla, 366f
Kauśāmbī, Kosaṁbi, 16, 27, 29, 46f, 76f, 92f, 97, 132, 145, 187, 208, 215
Kauśikī, 16, 261n
Kauṭilya, see Chāṇakya, 5, 14, 159, 182, 189f, 190n, 191ff, 200
Kautsa, 32, 54
Kāvasheya, 12, 15, 24, 32, 54
Kavirāja, 374
Kāvirī paṭṭinam, 223
Kekaya, 36, 38, 41f, 78
Ken, 91
Keralaputra, 224, 367
Keralī, 367
Kesaputta, 130f

Keśins, 47f, 131
Ketalaputa, 224
Ketumatī, 50
Kevalship, 77
Kevatta, Minister, 96
Khalatika-pavata, 208
Khāṇḍava, 16
Khapiṁgala, 208
Khāndesh, 240
Kharagraha I, 427n
Kharaosta, 305f, 352
Kharapallāna, 3
Kharaparikas, 371f
Khāravela, 150, 155f, 206, 255ff, 277n, 281, 283ff
Khasa, 86
Khemā, 137
Khshayārshā, see Xerxes
Kidāra Kushāns, 329
Kien-chi, 313
Kieou-tsieou-kio, 311, 313f
Kīkaṭa, 78f
Kinds of rulership, 112
King-maker, 116, 122
Kingship, 112
Ki-pin, 291, 292, 293, 311, 327, 330
Kirāta, 39
Kiu-sha, 322
Kīrti varman I (Chalikya), 406
Kleophis, 160
Kochchha, 67
Koh-i Mor, 165
Kokanada, 131
Kolamba, 436
Kolivisa, see Soṇa Kolivisa
Koliyas, 130
Kolkai, 223
Kollāga, 83f
Kolleru, 367n
Komūsā, 295
Konākamana, 233
Koṇḍavīḍu, 366n
Koṅgoda, 366n, 435
Koṅkaṇ, 240
Kophaios (Cophaeus), 176
Koravya, Kauravya, see Kurus
Kośa, 354
Kosala (North), 38, 50f, 52f, 67f, 73f, 87, 107, 109, 121, 123, 130f, 137f
Kosala (South), 336
Kośar (Kośalas ?), 183
Kosṭhāgāra, 354
Kota, 364
Kotakula, 365
Koṭāṭavī, 366
Koṭivarsha, 381, 391
Koṭṭa-Vishayas, 215n
Koṭṭura, 367f
Kouei Chouang (Kushān), 311f, 313
Kraivya, 49
Krakuchchhanda, 209
Kramāditya, Kumāra Gupta II, 385, 395
Kramāditya, Skanda Gupta, 388
Kraṅganur, 224
Krātha, see Kantha
Kṛipa, 253
Kṛishṇa III (Rāshṭrakūṭa), 426
Kṛishṇa Gupta, 404
Kṛishṇa Śātavāhana, 6, 281
Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva, Devakīputra, 6, 99 103, 113, 326, see Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa
Kṛitakshaṇa, 57
Kṛitamālā, 223
Kṛita-Mālava-Vikrama Era, 298, 317n
Kṛiti, 34, 57
Krivi, 47f
Kshaharāta, 296, 330f
Kshatrapas, 301ff, 331f, 336ff, 355
Kshatrapāvan, 301
Kshatrasya Kshatra, 351n
Kshatrava, 303
Kshatri, 173
Kshattṛi, 119
Kshāyathiyānām Kshāyathiya, 351
Kshemaka, 93
Kshemarāja, 350
Kshemendra, 383n
Kshitipāla, 394
Kshudrakas, 161, 171, 175f
Kshudra Parishad, 192
Kubera (ancestor of Bāṇa), 392n
Kubera of Devarāshṭra (king), 366
Kuberanāgā, 377, 383, 386f
Kubiraka, 212n
Kudurāhāra, 341n
Kujula Kadphises, 299, 311, 314ff, 320, 321n
Kukura, 336, 344, 421
Kukutthā, 88f, 130
Kulūta, 349n
Kumāla or Ayaputa, 214
Kumāra, 196f, 215f, 237, 277n
Kumāradevī (Gāharwār Queen), 205
Kumāradevī (Lichchhavi princess), 361
Kumāragiri, 366n
Kumāragupta I, 383, 384ff, 394, 399, 426 428, 429, 431
Kumāragupta II, 394, 396ff
Kumāragupta III, 404, 405, 407
Kumāragupta, Prince, 392, 408f
Kumārāmātya, 191n, 268n, 354, 380, 381f
Kumārapāla, 394
Kumārasena, 136
Kumāravishṇu, 341n
Kumbhavatī, 63
Kuṇāla, 237ff, 248
Kuṇḍadhāni, 381
Kuṇḍagrāma, Kuṇḍapura, 83f
Kuṇḍikeras, see Tuṇḍikeras
Kuṇḍina, 61
Kūṇika, see Ajātaśatru
Kunindas, 349n
Kuntala, 155, 368, 383n, 412
Kuntala Śātakarṇi, 278, 342
Kuraraghara, 102
Kurujāṅgala, 16
Kurukshetra, 16, 18f, 25, 45
Kurukshetra, battle of, 25

Kuru raṭṭha, 95
Kurus, 3, 6, 9, 11f, 14, 16, 19, 25f, 38, 45f, 49, 67f, 71, 90f, 100, 107, 115, 135, 155
Kurush, 160
Kuruśravana, 17f
Kuśadhvaja, 34
Kuśāgra, 139n
Kuśāgrapura, 78, 139
Kuśāśva, 84, 96
Kuśāvatī, 88f
Kushāns, 253n, 310ff, 420
Kushāns (Later), 328f
Kusambas, 284
Kuśika, 54
Kusinārā, 71, 85, 88f, 130, 132f
Kusthalapura, 366, 368
Kuśri, 32, 54
Kusulua Group, 301f
Kusuluka, 301f
Kusuma-dhvaja, 210
Kusumapura, 144, 146
Kuvinda, 100
Kuyula (Kujula) Kadphises, see Kadphises I
Kuyulakara Kaphsa, 321n

L

Lacedaemonians, 174
Lādha, 68
Lagatūrmān, 327n
Laghman, 293
Lāhyāyani, 30, 38
Lajjā, 386
Lakshmaṇa, 86, 428n
Lakshmaṇa Sena, 305
Lāla, 323
Lālāka, 284n
Lalitapātan, 209
Lampa, Lampāka, 105, 293
Lang-kie(ka)-lo, 416
Laṅkā, 433, see also Tāmraparṇī
Lan-shi, 313
Laodike, 264
Lāṭavishaya, 381
Lauhitya (sage), see Lohichcha
Lauhitya (river), 403, 408, 424, 428
Lekhakas, 193f
Leṇḍulura, 341n
Liaka, 300, 301f, 304, 323, 330
Libya, 161
Lichchhavis (Vajjis), 59, 82f, 85f, 90, 100, 135, 144, 147, 195, 349, 361, 407
Likhita, 245
Lipikaras, 215, 218
Lohichcha, 22, 110
Lohitya, Lauhitya (river), 408
London, 71
Lumminigāma, 208
Lysias, 264, 287, 352

M

Macedon, 38, 160
Machakruka, 16
Māchalas, 60
Machchha, see Matsya
Machiavelli, 153
Māḍavika, 355
Madanapāla, 394
Maddā, 137
Mādhava Gupta, 392, 404, 408-11, 423, 424, 431
Mādhavasena, 254
Mādhavavarman II, 405
Madhumanta, 64
Madhurā, Uttara, 99
Madhyadeśa, Majjimadeśa, 40, 44, 75, 100, 108, 160, 179, 196, 240, 280, 411, 427, 430
Madhyamikā, 171, 259, 263
Madra, 3, 14, 23, 30, 38, 42f, 108, 112, 137, 160, 168n, 430
Madragāra, 43, 107, 137
Madrakas, 371f, see Madra
Mādravatī, 11, 14, 23
Madurā, 223f
Maga, 226
Magadha, 19, 42, 67f, 75f, 81f, 88, 90, 95f, 100, 103, 107f, 123, 129, 132f, 137f, 151f, 160, 206, 406, 411, 412, 424
Māgadhapura, 78
Magadhavāsi, 79
Māgandiyā, 135
Magas, 225f, 415
Magism, 416
Mahābalādhikṛita, High Officer in charge of the Army, 380, 384
Mahābhāratāchārya, 26
Mahābhisheka, 95, 116
Mahābhoja, 98, 213
Mahābisi, 210
Mahā-daṇḍa-nāyaka, general, 353, 373, 380, 382
Mahādevī, 350, 359
Mahājanaka I, 37
Mahājanaka II, 36f, 56, 165
Mahājanapadas, 67f, 107f
Mahākachchāna, 100
Mahākāntāra, 366, 367
Mahākosala (king), 67, 74, 110f, 133
Mahākhushāpāra, 381
Mahākshatrapa, 303f, 332, 339, 355
Mahālakshmīdevī, 396
Mahāli, 87
Mahāmātras, 119, 139f, 189f, 201, 206, 211, 214ff, 229f, 352
Mahānāman, 134
Mahānandin, 146, 151
Mahāpadma (father of Bimbisāra), 82, 133n
Mahāpadma (Nanda), 19, 151, 154f, 258, 374n
Mahāpratihāra, 382
Mahārājādhirāja, 350n
Mahārakkhita, 415

Māhārājya, 117
Māhārājās, 232
Mahārāshṭra, 101, 366ff
Mahāraṭhis, 213
Mahāśāla, 42
Mahāsamiyas, 355
Mahāsammata, 91
Mahāsena, Pradyota, see Chaṇḍa Pradyota Mahāsena
Mahāsena Gupta, 408f, 423, 424
Mahāsena Guptā Devī, 408
Mahāsenāpati, 349, 353
Mahaśilākaṇṭaga, 142
Mahāsilava, 109
Mahāśiva Gupta, 407n, 424
Mahāsudassana, 89
Mahattaraka, 356
Mahattaras, 382
Mahatīdevatā, 351
Mahāvīra, 69, 77, 82 f, 87, 142, 220, 258n
Mahendra Maurya, 203, 227, 237
Mahendra (of Kosala), 366
Mahendrāditya, see Kumara Gupta I, 384, 399, 428
Mahendragiri, 205, 366 n, 367f
Mahendrapāla II (Pratihāra), 394 n, 428n
Mahendravarman, 341
Mahenjo-Daro, 2
Maheśvara Nāga, 328
Mahinda, 22, 33, see Mahendra Maurya
Mahīpāla I, 386
Mahirakula, 431, see Mihirakula
Mahishī, 115, 119
Māhiśmatī, 99, 102
Mahīśvara, 316
Mahitthi, 32, 54
Mahodaya, 92
Maināka, 30
Maitrakas of Valabhi, 390, 392n, 427f
Makhādeva, 35
Malala, 286
Malaṅga, 435
Malantus, 165
Mālava, see also Mālavas and Malayas, 67, 171, 392, 408, 424, 431
Mālavagaṇa, 371
Mālavas, 175ff, 331, 335, 349n, 371
Malayas, 67, 331, 335
Malichos, 343n
Maliku, see Malichos
Mālinī, 76
Malla, 67, 82 f, 86, 96, 100, 129, 195
Mallakis, 87, 90, 142
Mallikā, 134
Malloi, 171f
Māmāla, 336, 355
Māmalāhāra, 355
Mambarus, 296, 331
Māmulanār, 183
Mandākinī, 253n, 261n
Māṇḍavya, 32, 54, 245
Māndhātā (City), 102
Māndhātā, king of (Chedi), 91
Māṇḍūkāyani, 32, 54
Māndhātṛi, Yuvanāśva, 71
Maṅgala, Maṁgala, 220n
Maṅgaleśa, 394n
Maṅgura, 149
Mānī, 416, 417
Manigul, 302
Maniyatappo, 191
Maṅkhaliputta, see Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta, 142
Mān Singh, 196, 305n
Maṇṭarāja of Kaurāla, 366
Mantrin, 190, 380
Mantriparishad, 191f, 214, 216, 268, 380
Manujendra-putras, 388
Māra, 232
Maru, 344, 420, 421
Marutta, Āvikshita, 48, 114, 121
Maruttash, 98n
Masalia, 434
Māski, 205, 243
Masār, 131
Massaga, 164
Massanoi, 173, 177
Maṭachī, 28, 46f
Māṭhara, 325
Māthava, 35, 57
Mathurā, Methora, 63, 97, 99, 325, 328
Matila, 363f
Matisachivas, Councillors, 346, 353
Mātṛivishṇu, 381, 400f
Matsya, 38, 44f, 67, 96f, 107, 119
Mauakes, Mavaces, 295f
Maues, 289, 295f, 304
Maukhari, 280n, 395, 406f, 423f, 429
Maurya, 4n, 79n, 130ff, 158f, 179ff
Maurya Pillar Hall, 188
Mavaces, 295f
Māyā, 286n
Mayidavolu, 64, 341n
Mayūraposhaka, 181
Mayūraśarman, 342n
Medes, 160
Medus Hydaspes, 288
Megaloy, 300
Megasthenes, 186, 188, 190, 194f, 206, 353
Meghavarṇa, 373
Mekal-Āmbashṭha, 173n
Mekala-sutā, 90
Mekhalāmushta, 173n
Menander, 261ff, 286f
Mercia, 178
Meridarch, 349
Mevaki, Mauakes, Mevaces, 294f
Mevaku, 295n
Mihirakula, 385n, 395, 397, 401f, 426, 432
Miletos, 103
Milinda, see Menander
Min, 296
Ming, 316
Minnagara, 295f, 298, 309, 331, 422
Mitanni, 98n
Mithradates, Mithridates, 263, 288, 308
Mithi, 34f
Mithilā, 33, 34, 54f, 61, 68, 71, 82f, 95f, 116, 132f, 424

Mitra, 98n, 270, 292
Mitras (Later), 274f
Mitra coins, 270
Mitra Kings, 269, 275
Mitra Satya, 119
Mitra, S. N., 43n
Mlechchhas, 388f
Moasa, 297n
Modo-galingae, 65
Modubae, 65f
Moeres, 175
Moga, 295f, 302
Mo-la-po, 392n, 427—same as Mālavaka
Moli, 68
Molinī, 50
Mophis, Āmbhi, 166
More, 240n
Moris, 181
Moriyas, 130f, 181, 242
Mote Hall, 89
Mou-lo-san-pu-lu, see Mūlasthāna-pura
Mousikanos, 173ff, 176
Mousopalle, 434
Mṛigadhara, 134
Mṛigaśikhāvana, 360
Mṛigeśa-varman, 342n
Mūchipa, Mūtiba, Mūvipa, 66
Muchukarṇa, 137n
Mūjavant, 40, 76, 79
Mukhaliṅgam, 62n
Mukhara, see Maukhari
Mukhyas, 196, 215, 234
Mūlaka, 101f, 336
Mūlasthāna-pura, 420
Muluḍa, 356
Muṇḍa, 148, 152
Muṇḍas, 198
Mūrdhābhishikta, 181, 242
Muriyakāla, 255ff
Muruṇḍa, 292, 373
Mushakas, 435
Mushika, 66, 173n, 224
Musi, 66
Mūtibas, 64f
Myakadoni, 335
Mysore, 42, 64, 155
Muziris, 224

N

Nabataeans, 343n
Nabhāga, 84
Nābhaka, 209
Nābhapamti, 209
Nābhikapura, 209
Nāchne-ki-talai, 368
Nada Diake, 302n
Nāga, 5, 102, 280, 319, 327, 328ff, 377
Nāgabhaṭṭa, 328
Nāga Dāsaka, 144f, 152
Nāgadatta, 363
Nāgakhaṇḍa, 183
Nagala Viyohālaka, 215
Nāganikā, Nāyanikā, 280, 283, 350
Nagara, 215n, 352
Nagarabhukti, 381
Nagaradevatā, 265
Nagaradhānya Vyāvahārika, 215n
Nagarādhyaksha, 194
Nāgarākshadarśa, 352
Nāgārjuna, 319, 324, 326
Nāgārjuni Hill, 238
Nāgasāhvaya (Hāstinapura), 17
Nāgasena, Sage, 158
Nāgasena, King, 363ff
Nāgasena (Buddhist thera), 261
Nāgavana, 192n
Nagara-śreshṭhī, 382
Nagnajit, Naggaji, Naggati, 57f, 61, 95, 99, 103f, 121n
Nahapāna, 307, 315, 317n, 320n, 330f
Nahushya, 18
Naimishas, 107
Nakaia, 177
Nakhavant, 328, 364n
Naksh-i-Rustam, 161
Nakula, 25
Nalas, 435
Nālandā, 399
Nambanus, 296, 331
Namī, Nimi, 34f, 49, 56f, 95, 103f, 121n
Nana, 324n
Nānāghāṭ Records, 276
Nāṇaka coins, 324n
Nanda, 129, 147, 151f, 154f, 159, 182, 220n, 255, 277
Nandas, 175, 183, 205f
Nandā, 139
Nandana, 392n
Nandi, bull, 326
Nandi, King, 363f
Nandi (Yaksha), 150
Nandinagar, 106
Nandisena, 102
Nandivardhana, 147f, 257f
Nandivarman, 341n
Nandiyaśas, 365
Na-pei-kea, 209
Nārada, 54, 60, 121n, 172, 374
Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya, 395f, 397, 404n
Narasiṁha Varman, 341n
Naravarman, 347, 384n
Nārāyaṇa Kāṇva, 274
Nārāyaṇapāla, 275n, 386
Narendrasena Vākāṭaka, 389, 431
Narmadā, 90, 102f
Nāsatyas, 98n
Nāsik, 64, 213
Nāsik Praśasti, 337
Nau-Nand-Dehra (Nander), 156
Nāvadhyaksha, 194
Navananda, 151
Navanara, 339
Navy, 194f
Navyāvakāśikā, 427, 430
Nāyaka, 139, 353
Nāyanikā, 276, 374
Nāyars, 224

Nemi, 56f
Nepal, 33, 70, 82, 88, 209, 233
Neyika, 355
Ngan, 313n
Nganai, 291, 313
Nīcha, 214
Nichakshu, 16, 27, 29, 30, 46f, 92f
Nichchhivi, see Lichchhavi, 86
Nīchyas, 112
Nidhanapur Plates, 410
Nigālī Sāgar, 233
Nigama, 356
Nigamapradhānāḥ, 194
Nigamasabhās, 352
Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta, see Mahāvīra, 220
Nikaia, 177
Nikāyā, 215, 357
Nīlapallī, 367
Nīlarāja, 366f
Nirgranthas, 220
Nirvāna era, 153
Nīrvāna Temple, 88
Nishāda, 131, 345, 421
Nishadha, 433
Nisibi, 85
Nisṛisbṭārtha, 193, 218
Nīvigrāhaka, 194
Niyoga, 26
Nomarch, 168
Northern Kuru, see Uttara Kuru, 19, 26, 43
Northumbria, 178
Nyagrodhavana, 132
Nyasa, 164

O

Oath (coronation), 120
Oḍḍavādi, 97
Odraka, Udāka, 270
Ohind, 329
Okkāka, 89, 116
Olympic Games, 118
Omphis, 166
Ophir, 2
Opian, 177
Orissa, 62, 432, 436
Orosius, 172
Orthagnes, 308
Orthoura, 434
Ossadiai, 173
Oṭṭhaddha, 87
Oudh, 52, 70
Overthrow of the Nandas, 183
Oxus 288, 312
Oxydrakai, 171f, 176
Oxykanos, 174
Ozene, 343

P

Pabhosa Inscription, 270, 295
Pāḍā, 225
Pādañjali, 115, 123
Pāḍha, 68
Padmāvatī, city, 319, 328, 364n, 378
Padmāvatī, queen of Udayana, 135,
Padmāvatī, queen of Ajātaśatru, 141, 143
Pahlavas, 4, 308ff, 345
Paithan, see Pratishṭhāna
Paithānakas, 212n
Pakores, 302, 310
Pakthas, 161, 170
Paktyike, 161
Pakudha, 21
Palace of Chandragupta, 187f
Palacsimundu, 225n
Pālāgala (Courier), 119
Pālāgalī, 115
Pālaka, 136, 145, 147f
Pāla Kings, 253, 324n, 386
Pālakka, Pālakkada, 352, 368
Palāśikā, 342n
Palibothra, Palimbothra, 155, 186
Palibothri, 211
Pallava, 64, 341f
Paloura, 206n
Pampā, 433
Pañchāla, 38, 45, 47, 49, 57f, 70f, 94f, 103n, 107, 112, 124, 131, 155, 240
Pañchamaka, 149
Pañ-ch'ao, 323f
Pandaia, 224
Pāṇḍavas, 25, 103n
Pandion, 315n, 434
Pandoouoi, 223, 371
Pāṇḍu, 25, 54
Pāṇḍugati, 156
Pāṇḍuka, 156
Pāṇḍus, 13, 14n, 23, 25
Pāṇḍya, 67, 223, 285, 433f, 436
Pāṇīyagharika, 354
Panku, 311, 313
Pantaleon, 286
Pārā, 365n
Para Āhlāra, 57
Para Āṭṇāra, see Āṭṇāra
Parākramāṅka, 374
Paramabhaṭṭāraka, 350n
Paramadaivata, 380
Paramāras, 428n
Pārameshṭhya, 117
Parameśvara, 350n
Paraṇar, or Param Koṛranār, 183
Parantapa, 93, 135
Para-pāsaṇḍa-garahā, 221
Pārasamudra, 225
Parāśara, 54
Pārasika, 343n
Paraśurāma, 281
Parikshit, 9f, 21f, 54, 75, 80, 112, 120f
Pārikshitas, 9f
Parimitārthāḥ, 218
Pariṇah, 16
Parishad (Parishā), 123f, 214, 240, 268, 383
Parivakrā, Parichakrā, 47
Parivrājaka Mahārajas, 369, 401
Parivrājikās, 198

Parivṛiktī, 115
Pāriyātra, 102n, 336
Parkham Statue, 143
Parṇadatta, 390, 427
Paropanisadai, 177, 185
Parśus, 98
Pārśva, Jina, 69, 104
Pārśva (Buddhist), 324
Pārtha (Arjuna) 402
Pārtha of Kaśmīra, 305n, 398
Parthalis, 206
Parthians, 288, 308ff, 323
Parushṇī, 42
Pasenadi, see Prasenajit
Pasiani, 288
Pastyā, 16
Patala, see Tauala, 175
Patalene, 175, 261, 303, 334n
Pāṭaliputra, 133, 141, 144, 155, 186f, 196, 208, 215, 239, 378
Patañchala, 30, 43
Patañjali, 259, 273
Patika, 300, 301f, 304, 306, 330
Paṭivedaka, 190n, 215, 217, 230
Patna statues, 145, 149
Patrokles, 202
Paudanya, 101
Paulushi Satyayajña, 31, 54
Paūmāvaī, see Padmāvatī, wife of Ajātaśatru
Pauṁsāyana, 124
Pauras, 248
Paurava, 17, 167
Paura Vyāvahārika, 215f
Paushkarasādi, 22, 54
Pautrāyaṇa, 114
Pāvā, 88, 130
Pavvaiyā, 427
Pāyāsi, Prince of Setavyā, 71, 111
Pedda-Vegi, 367
Peisistratus, 99
Perimuda, 223n
Periyar, River, 224
Persepolis, 161f, 188, 327n
Persian, 4, 98, 152, 160f
Peshāwār, 39
Peshwas, 274
Pettanika, Pitinika, 212f
Peukelaotis, 165
Peukalaos, 287
Phegelas, 170
Philadelphos, 172
Philip of Macedon, 90, 184
Philippos, 177
Philopator, 264n
Philoxenos, 287
Phoenicians, 161
Phraotes, 308
Phryni, 261
Pihundā, 285
Pimprama, 168
Piṇḍola, 136, 220n
Piṅgala, 31
Pippalāda, 53
Pipphalivana, 130, 132, 181
Piprāwā, 130n
Pishṭapura, Pithapuram, 366f
Pithuḍa, Pitundra 285, 434
Pi-to-shih-lo, 420
Piyadasi, 205, 350, see Aśoka
Podiyil, Hill, 183, 211
Po-ho, 42
Pokharaṇa, 384
Pokkharasādi, 54
Polasapur, 133
Po-la-sse, 416
Poling, 206n
Polyandry, 26
Pompeius Trogus, 288
Poros, 165f, 167f, 175ff
Portikanos, 174
Po-ta, 311, 314
Potali Potana, 62, 69, 101, 206n
Po-t'iao, 316, 321, 327
Pounnata, 434
Prabhākara, 381n
Prabhākaravardhana, 392, 401, 407f, 409, 432
Prabhāvatī (of Ūtkala), 97
Prabhāvatī (Guptā), 377, 383, 412, 431
Prachaṁta, see Pratyanta, 211, 214, 222
Prachaṇḍa śāsana, 370
Prāchīnaśāla, Aupamanyava, 42
Prāchya, 112, 196
Prāchya Pañchālas, 47
Pradeśas, 381
Prādeśikeśvara, 217
Pradeshṭṛis, 191, 192n, 197, 217
Pradesikas, Prādesikas, 215, 217, 229f
Pradhānas, 380
Pradyota, 6, 80f, 103f, 133, 135, 137, 143f
Pradyota dynasty, 81, 147
Praesti (Proshṭhas?), 174
Prakāśāditya, 395
Prakaṭāditya, 396
Pramagaṇḍa, 78, 80
Praṇashṭādhigata dravya, 217
Praṇaya, 7n, 348
Prārjunas, 371f
Prasenajit (Pasenadi), 6, 70f, 73f, 110f, 133f, 147, 150, 196
Prasians, Prasii, 157, 177, 186
Prāśnīputra, 32, 54
Pratardana, 51, 59, 69, 131
Prathamādevī, 350
Prathama-Kāyastha, 382
Prathama-kulika, 382
Pratīchya, 112
Pratīhāras, 86, 350n
Pratīpa, 10f, 18
Pratishṭhāna, 281, 283, 339, 434
Pratiśravas, 10
Pratyanta nṛipatis, 370
Pravāhana Jaivali, see Jaivali
Pravarasena I, 368, 374
Pravarasena II, 63, 383, 389
Pṛithivīpati, 403
Pṛithivīsheṇa I, 368f, 376
Pṛithivīsheṇa II, 369
Pṛithivīsheṇa, mantrin, 380n, 384

Priyadarśana, 350n
Priyaka, 146
Proshṭhas, 174
Proti Kauśāmbeya, 46, 92
Prussia, 129
Ptolemy, Geographer, see Bibliographical Index
Ptolemy, historian, see Bibliographical Index
Ptolemy Philadelphos, King, 202, 225f, 415
Puā-d'ieu, 316
Pugār, 223
Pukkusāti, 104, 132, 137, 152
Pulakeśin II, 20n, 223, 394n
Pulika, Puṇika, Puṇaka, 80, 103n, 133
Pulinda nagara, 65, 213
Pulindas, 64f, 212, 213
Pulisā, 215, 217
Pulumāyi, 276n, 334, 336f, 239ff, 345, 355
Pulusha Prāchīnayogya, 31, 46, 54
Phṇaka, see Pulika, 133
Punarabhisheka, 23, 113, 116f, 120f, 124
Puṇḍravardhana, 211, 370, 381, 384, 392, 399, 403, 429
Punna-fa-ta-na, 399
Puṇya-vardhana, 399
Pupphavatī, 50
Pura, 215n
Pura Gupta, 385f, 394f
Purikā, 272
Pūrṇavarman, 392n
Purohita, 119
Pūru, Pūrus, 17f, 73, 97, 100, 167, 236
Purukutsa, 71, 74
Purūravas, 18, 19, 50
Purushapura, 323f
Pūrva-Mālava, 392
Pūrva Nandāḥ, 151
Pushkarāvatī, 39, 165, 176, 208, 286, 287
Pushpabhūti, 392, 408f
Pushpapura, 241
Pushyadharman, 237, 240
Pushyagupta, 184, 197, 380n
Pushyamitras, 384, 387ff
Pushyamitra Śuṅga, 237, 240, 246, 248, 252ff, 257f, 263, 267ff, 374
Pushyabhūti, 425
Pustapāla, 382
Putabhedana, 43

R

Rāḍha, 68, 279n, 424
Rādhagupta, 203
Rāḍhāpurī, 405
Rahamusala, 142
Rahasyādhikṛita, 353
Rāhugaṇa, see Gotama Rāhugaṇa
Rāhula, 6, 73
Rājadharma writers, 351
Rājāgriha (Kekaya), 41
Rājagṛiha (Magadha), 41, 75f, 80f, 129, 132, 136, 139f, 146f, 256
Rājagṛiha (Balkh), 42
Rājakartṛi, Rājakṛit, 116, 122
Rājalipikara, 353
Rājāmatya, 354
Rājan, 357, 380
Rājapura (Kaliṅga), 62
Rājapura (Kamboja), 105, 208
Rājāpurushas, 217
Rājaputra-deva-bhaṭṭāraka, 381
Rājaśāsana, 190
Rājastambāyana, 32
Rājasūya, 113f, 116f
Rājātirāja, 350, 351
Rājavaidya, 353
Rājavishaya, 211, 214
Rājayuktas, 215
Rāja-Muriyakāla, 255
Rājjugāhaka, 216
Rajjuka, Rājukas, 215ff, 229f, 244f, 348, 352
Rajula, 302n
Rājya, 113f, 117
Rājyapāla, 386
Rājyaśrī, 401
Rājyavardhana, 386, 408ff, 430
Rāma, 72, 86
Rāmagāma, 130
Rāma (Śarma) Gupta, 376n
Rāma, lakes of, 16
Rāmapāla, 394
Ramma, city, 50
Rāmpurwā, 209
Raṇa-bhāṇḍāgār-ādhikaraṇa, 382
Raṇavigraha, 90
Rañjubula, 302f, 306
Rāptī, 33, 71, 88, 130
Rashada, 198
Rāshṭra, 355, 356
Rāshṭrakūṭas, 428
Rāshṭrapāla, King, 156
Rāshṭrapāla, 197, 216
Rāshṭrapati, 355
Rāshṭrikas, 197, 212f, 355
Rāshṭrīya, 184, 380n
Rathagṛitsa, 28f, 54
Raṭhika, 212, 284
Ratnin, 188 f
Ravideva, 253
Rāwalpindi, 39
Reṇu, 61f, 101
Republics, 58, 84, 129, 163, 349
Revottaras Pāṭava Chākra Sthapati, 124
Ṛiksha, king, 18,
Ṛiksha (mountain), 102n
Ripuñjaya, 80
Rise of Chandragupta, 179f
Ṛishabhadatta, 213
Ṛishigiri, 78
Ṛituparṇa, 72f
Roads (Maurya), 193
Rohiṇī, 130
Roja, 91
Rohita, 72, 74

Romakas, Rome, 4, 58, 70, 142, 315n
Roruka, 132
Ru (dra), 296, 339
Rudrabhūti, 7n, 346
Rudradāman I, 7 n, 146, 184, 196, 205, 318, 325, 332 ff, 339, 343 ff, 348n, 352
Rudradāman II, 347
Rudradeva, 364
Rudra Paśupati, 119
Rudrasena I, Kshatrapa, 346, 419ff
Rudrasena II, ,, 347
Rudrasena (I) Vākāṭaka, 364, 368
Rudrasena II, ,, 328, 368, 376f, 394
Rudrasiṁha I, 346
Rudrasiṁha III, 347
Rudrāyaṇa, 132
Rummindeī, 209, 233
Rūpadarśaka, 194
Rūpnāth, 213

S

Śāba, 377, 380
Śabagrae, Sabarcae, 172
Śabaras, 64
Sabarae, 65
Śābarmatī, 344
Sabbamitta, 74
Sabbatthaka, 138
Śabda, 346
Sacae, see Śakas, 162, 288
Sacarauli, 288
Sacastane, 289n
Sachiva, 189f, 348
Sadā-chandra, 364n
Sāḍaganna, 282
Sadānīrā, 33, 35, 52, 70
Saffarids, 329
Śāgala, Śāgalanagara, 23, 43, 128, 132, 261f, 287, 372, 427
Śāgaradvīpa, see Sigerdis, 261
Śāgarikā, 136
Sahadeva, father of Somaka, 58, 60
Sahadeva Pāṇḍava, 25
Sahadeva Sārñjaya, 60
Sahadeva, son of Jarāsandha, 80
Sahadeva of Vaiśālī, 84
Sahaja, 96
Sahajāti, 91
Sahalāṭavi, 366
Sahasrāṇīka, 93
Sahēṭh Mahēṭh, 71
Śāhi, 294
Sahya, 427
Sai river, 70
Śaiśunāga, 79, 81
Śaivism, 316, 326
Śai-wang, 292f
Śaka, 3, 288, 292ff, 343ff
Śaka era, 321f, 331f, 334
Śaka Kshatrapas, 301ff, 343ff
Śākala, see Śāgala
Śākalya, 38
Śaka Muruṇḍa, 292
Śaka-Pahlava, 128, 321f
Śakasena, 339
Śakasthāna, 289, 294ff
Śaka-Yavana, 3
Sāketa, 70f, 74, 76, 132, 135, 240, 259, 322
Śakrāditya, 385, 399
Śakrasthāna, 294n
Śakti, 54
Śakti-Kumāra, 281
Śakti-Śrī, 283
Śakuni (Gandhāra), 103n
Śākya, 6, 73, 111
Śākyamuni, 100, 324, 416
Śākyas, 70, 73, 89, 111, 130f, 133f, 195, 220n, 349, 416
Salakenoi, 341n
Śālaṅkāyanas, 341n
Śālaṅkāyana-vaṁśābalī, 368n
Śāliśūka, 237, 239, 250
Śālivāhana, 280
Śālva, 45
Samāchāradeva, 430
Samāhaṭṛi, 119, 192, 199, 217
Samājas, 227f, 233, 469
Sāmanta Pañchaka, 16
Samāpā, 207f, 211, 215
Samarkand, 288
Samataṭa, 211, 370
Sāmavatī, 135
Samavāyo, 235
Śāmba, see Sambos, 174n
Sambalpur, 366
Sambastai, 162
Śambhu, see Sambos, 174n
Sambhuttara, 68
Śambhu-vardhana, 398
Saṁbodhi, 233
Sambos, 174f
Sambulā, 52
Saṁcharaṁtaka, Saṁchārin, 348, 357
Sāṁdhivigrahika (Minister of Peace and War), 354, 380
Saṁghas, 357
Saṁgrahitṛi, 119
Saṁgrāmadeva, 398
Saṁgrāma Siṁha, 182
Samiti, 123
Śaṁkara-gaṇa, 428
Samkassa (Sāṅkāśya), 133
Saṁkshobha, 391, 401
Samnites, 142
Sampadī, 237f
Samprati, 237f, 257n
Samrāj, Samrāṭ, 30, 37, 113f, 116f
Sāmrājya, 113, 116f
Saṁsthāḥ, 198
Samtanu, 18f, 54, 115
Samudaya, 217
Samudra Gupta, 128, 319, 329, 341ff, 347, 363ff, 374f, 387, 425, 429
Samudra-vijaya, 80
Samūśo, 295
Sanabares, 310
Saṅakānīkas, 167n, 371f

Sañchārāḥ, 198
Sāñchī, 273
Śāṇḍilya, 32, 54
Sandrokottus, see Chandragupta, Maurya, 179ff
Sangaeus, see Sañjaya of Pushkarāvatī, 176
Sangala, 168
Saṅgata, 237
Saṅgha (Buddhist), 231
Saṅgha, 94, 96, 99,106, 122, 195f, 210
Saṅghadāman, 347
Saṅghamukhya, 99
Saṅgharaksha, 325
Saṅghārāma, 144, 324, 416
Saṅgrahaṇa, 192n
Sañjaya of Magadha, 149
Sañjaya of Pañchāla, 96
Sañjaya of Pushkarāvatī, 176
Sañjaya (Sūta), 119n
Sañjivīputra, 32, 54
Śaṅkara (Commentator), 347n
Sāṅkāsya, 34, 133
Saṅkhyāyaka, 194
Śāṅkhāyana, 21f. 33, 54
Sannidhātṛi, 119, 192
Śāpa (coronation oath), see Oath, 117, 120
Sapedanes, 310
Saphālā, 73
Sāpur II, 327n, 329
Sāpya, 35, 57
Śarabha, 164
Śarabhapura, 435
Śaracens, 179
Śaraganus, 281f
Saraikala, 31
Sarancae, 289
Saraostos, see Surāshṭra
Sarasvatī, 15f, 16, 18, 35, 45, 120, 167, 173
——— Goddess, 227
Sarajū, 53, 71
Śārdulavarman, 406
Śārkarākshya, 42
Sarpa-satra, 22, 31
Śarpikā, 70
Sārthavāha, 382
Sarva, 294
Sārvabhauma, Sarvabhūmi, 23, 117, 121
Sarva-kshatrāntaka, 363
Śarvanāga, 365, 381, 390
Sarvañjaha, 149
Sarvarāj-ochchettā, 363, 374
Sarvāstivādin School, 416
Śarvavarman, 407n, 423
Saryaṇāvant, 16
Śāryātā, 121
Śāsana, 190
Śāsana-hara, 119, 218
Śaśāṅka, 409f, 430
Sasas, 302, 310, 355
Sassanian dynasty, 327n, 426
Śatadhanvan, 237, 239
Sātahani raṭṭha, 341n, 355
Śatadhanus, 237
Śātakarṇi I, 6, 276ff, 281ff
Śatānīka, of Kauśāmbī, 77, 93, 135
Śatanīka Sātrājita, 27, 50, 69, 121
Śatānīka son of Janamejaya, 27, 29, 31, 46, 54
Śātavāhana, 5, 128, 212n, 272, 275ff, 293, 317n, 335, 336f, 343, 352
Sātavahani-hāra, 330, 355
Satavastra, 310
Satiyaputra, 224, 280n, 433
Sātrāsāha, 48
Satri, 198
Śatrughna, 41
Sattabhu, 61, 101, 121n
Satvats, Sātvatas, 19, 62f, 97f, 112
Sātvata Vidhi, 99n
Satyabhūmi, 224
Satyamaṅgalaṁ Tāluk, 224
Satyamārtaṇḍa, 97
Satya-vrata-kshetra, 224
Satyayajña, 32, 42, 46
Saubhūti (Sopeithes, Sophytes), 168f
Saudyumni, 18
Śaunaka, 54
Śaunaka, Indrota Daivāpa, 11, 14n, 15, 24, 28, 31f, 54
Śaunaka Kāpeya, 28
Śauṅgāyani, 43, 252
Śauṅgīputra, 252
Sauras, 65
Sauvīra, Sovīra, 2, 4, 101, 132, 262f, 421
Savaralu, 65
Śavaras, 64f
Sāvatthi (Śrāvastī in Kosala), 21, 69f, 73f 111, 132f
Savitā Satyaprasava, 119
Sāvitrī, 43
Scylax, 161
Scythia, 295f, 309
Scythian, 4, 163, 175, 288, 300ff
Scythianus, 417n
Sechanaka, 140
Seleukidan war, 184
Seleukos, 180, 182, 185 ff, 202, 271
Senādhipa, 381n
Senāgopas, 199n, 353
Sena king, 93n
Senājit, 80
Senānī, 119
Senāpati, 134, 189, 253, 353
Seniya, 129, 135
Seres, 261
Seri, 64
Setakaṇṇika, 280
Setavyā, 71, 111
Seyanāga, 140
Seyaviyā, 42
Shāhān-Shāh, 351
Shuriash, 98n
Śiālkoṭ, 43
Sibi, Siboi, 44, 170, 173
Sibyrtios, 186
Siddhārtha, father of Mahāvīra, 83
Siddhārtha (Buddha), father of Rāhula, 6, 73f

Siddhavarman, 364
Sigal, 289n
Sigerdis, 261
Siha, 87
Sihapura, 91
Śikhaṇḍin, 49
Śikharasvāmin, 380
Śīlāditya Dharmāditya of Mo-la-po, 395, 402n, 427n
Śilāhāras, 436
Śilaka Śālāvatya, 50
Śīlavat, 139
Śīlavatī, 116
Siṁhachandra, 376
Siṁhala, 372, see also Ceylon, 225
Siṁha Mahendra, 384n
Siṁhapura, 62, 334n
Siṁhasena, 199f
Siṁhavarman (Mandasor), 364
Siṁhavarman (Pallava), 341n
Siṁha Vikrama (Chandra Gupta II), 347, 376, 384n
Siṁhavishṇu, 341n
Simuka (Śiśuka, Sindhuka, Śipraka), 272, 275f, 281
Sind, 173, 177, 344, 420f
Sindhu (Indus), 47, 161
Sindhu (in C. India), 270
Sindhu-Sauvīra, 173, 318, 344f, 419, 420, 421
Sindīmāna, 174
Singupuram, 62n
Sinthus, 295
Sin-tu, see Sindhu, 420
Sīradhvaja, 34, 36, 53f
Sīri-Vaddha, 135
Sisikottos (Śaśigupta), 176
Śiśunāga (Susunāga), 81, 145f, 152
Śiśunandi, 269, 272, 365
Śiśupāla, 92
Sītā, 34, 36, 53
Śiva, 219, 326
Śivas, Sivis, see Sibi, Siboi
Śiva-Bhāgavata, 316
Śiva-datta, 340n
Śiva Gupta, 359
Śivāji, 340, 380
Śiva Nandi, 365
Śivapura, 170
Śivasena, 341
Śiva-Skanda-Datta, 355
Śiva-Skanda-Gupta, 359
Śiva-Skanda-Nāga Śrī, 342
Śiva-Skanda-Varman, 279, 341n, 342, 352, 356, 374
Śiva-Śrī, 339
Śivi, 125, 170f
Skanda (God), 219n
Skanda Gupta, 8n, 215, 329, 343n, 359, 365, 385ff, 394, 397, 409, 425ff
Skanda Nāga, 330, 355
Skanda Nāga Śātaka, 278, 342
Skandasvāti, 278, 354
Skandavarman, 341n
Slaves 174, 231
Snake Sacrifice, 22
Soastus, 165
Śoḍāsa, 303f, 306
Sodrai (Sogdoi), 173, 177, see Śūdra (tribe)
Sogdiana, 289
Sogdians, 162, 288, 296
Soked (Sāketa), 322
Solaki, 405
Solaṅki, 405
Solasa Mahājanapada, 67ff
Somadatta of Vaiśālī, 84
Somadeva, 426
Somaka (tribe), 47f
Somaka Sāhadevya, 58, 60, 84
Somaśarman, 237, 239
Somaśushma Sātyayajñi Prāchīnayogya, 14n, 32f, 46, 54
Somavaṁśi kings, 354
Soma Vanaspati, 119
Someśvara, 253
Sona, 186n
Soṇadaṇḍa, 138
Soṇa Kolivisa, 123
Śoṇa Sātrāsāha, 49
Sophagasenus, see Subhāgasena
Sora, 434
Soras, 223n
Soṭṭhisena, 52
Soṭṭhivatīnagara, 90
Sourasenoi, 97
Sovīra, see Sauvīra
Spalagadama, 289
Spalahora, 289
Spalirises, 290, 298, 330, 352
Sparta, 85
Spies, 197f, 348, 357
Śraishṭhya, 117
Śramaṇa, 220, 348n
Śrāvastī, see Sāvatthi
Śrāvastī bhukti, 381
Śreṇika, 78, 129
Śreṇya, 81
Śrīchandra Sāti, 339
Śrīchandra II, 340
Śrīdharavarman, 373
Śrī Gupta, 360f
Śrī Hariḍāsa, 359
Śrīkāṇṭha, 392, 408
Śrī Kṛishna II, King, 340
Śrī Mahendra, 384n
Śrīmāra rāja, 76n
Śrīnagarī, 209
Sṛiñjaya of Vaiśālī, 84
Sṛiñjayas (tribe), 25n, 47f, 124
Sri-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-padlyā Kumār-āmāty-ādhikaraṇa, 382
Śrī Pratāpa, 384n
Śrīpura, 366
Śrīrājya, 64
Śrī Rudra-Sātakarṇi, 340
Śrī Sāta, 339
Śrī Vatsa Devī, 395
Śrī Vijaya, 64n
Śrī Vikramaḥ, 378

Śrī Vīra Purushadatta, 341n
Śruta coins, 365
Śrutasena, 10, 27, 29, 121
Sthānika, 199, 217
Sthānīya, 192n
Sthānu, 402n
Sthapati, 124
Strategos, 299, 349, 355
Stratos, 264, 266f, 286, 306, 334n, 352
Stryadhyakshas, 216
St. Thomas, 308
Suari, 65
Subhadrāṅgī, 203
Subāhu, 132
Sūbahdār, 196
Subandhu, 200n
Subhāgasena, 238, 247, 260
Suchandra, 84
Śuchivṛiksha, 28
Sudakshiṇa, 106
Sudās, Sudāsa, 45, 48, 121
Sudarśana Lake, 184, 345, 354, 390
Sudarśana-pura, 102
Sudassana, 50
Suddhodana, 73f
Sudhanvā Āṅgirasa, 30
Śūdra kings, 114, 241
Śūdra (Sodrai of Alexander) (tribe), 173, 340n, 372n
Sugāṅga palace, 187n
Sugriva, 3
Sui Vihār, 295, 318, 419
Sujyeshṭha, see Vasujyeshṭha
Sukalpa, 156
Sukeśā Bhāradvāja, 53, 73, 111
Suketuvarman, 251
Śuktimatī, Śuktisāhvaya, city, 90, 91
Śuktimatī, river, 90
Śukulideśa, 381
Sulikas, 405, 406
Śulka, 354
Sumana, 203
Sumantra, 119n
Sumati of Vaiśālī, 84
Sumsumāragiri, 93, 130f
Śunaḥśepa, 119
Sunakkhatta, 87
Sundara Varman, 359n
Śuṅgas, 242, 252ff
Suṅgas (Later), 274
Suṅga-Bhṛityas, 274
Sung-yun, 314n
Sunīdha, 141
Sunītha, 92
Suplan Sārājaya, 84
Surānanda, 90
Śūrapāla, 150
Sura Parichara, 284
Surarāja, 113
Śūrasena, 67, 97, 107, 155, 173n
Śūrasenakas, 45, 107, 132
Surāshṭra, 60, 184, 196f, 201, 344f, 345n, 347, 381, 421, 425, 427
Suraśmichandra, 100
Śūravarman I, 397
Śūravarman II, 398
Śūrpāraka, 213, 331, 345n
Surundhana, 50
Sūryavarman, 407
Susa, 187
Suśarman, 274, 276f
Sushena, 10
Susīma, 203f
Śushkaletra, 209
Susthita-varman, 392, 408, 410, 423, 424
Suta, 116, 119, 122f
Sutasoma, 94
Suvāhu, 132
Suvarṇabhūmi, 76, 226f
Suvarṇagiri, 196, 208, 211, 214f, 237,
Suvāstu (Swāt), 39, 164
Suviśākha, 345, 355
Suyaśas, 237f
Svabhra, 344, 421
Svāmidatta, 366
Svāmi Mahāsena (Kārttikeya), 384
Svā rājya, 113f
Svarāṭ, 113
Svarjit, 104,
Svāvaśya, 117
Śvetaketu, 30, 41, 50, 124
Syāmaka, 355
Syandikā, 70
Symbouloi, 193
Synedroi, 193
Syrastrene, 303
Syria, 185, 202, 225, 260

T

Ta-hia, 289, 292, 312f, 327
Tekirasi ascetics, 338
Takka country, 420, see Che-ka
Takshaśilā, Taxila, 22f, 25, 39, 41, 103, 125, 132, 162, 165, 187, 195, 201, 205f, 208, 237, 248, 287
Taxila University, 41
Tālagund, 341n
Tālajaṅghas, 103
Tambapamni, Tāmraparṇī, 293, 225
Tāmraparṇī river, 225
Tāmralipti, 211, 379
Tāpasa, 198
Taprobane, see Tambapamni,
Taruntuka, 16
Tathāgata, see Buddha Tathāgata
Tathāgata Gupta, 395, 401, 431
Tauala, 175
Tāvatiṁsa gods, 87
Ta-yue-tchi, 292, 314, 316
Tel, 64, 212
Telavāha, 64, 212
Telingiri, 64
Terebinthus, 417
Theodamas, 291n
Theodotus, see Diodotus, king of Bactria
Theodotus II, see Diodotus II
Theos, 351n
Theotropos, 351n

Theūdora, 349n
Thullakotthita, 94,
Tiastanes, 343
Tiber, 351
Tiberius. 315
Tien-Chan, 312
Tien-tchou, 291, 314, 327
Tien-tze, 351
Tīkshṇa, 198
Ti-lo-shi-kia, 144
Timitra, 262
Tīrabhukti, Tirhut, 33, 381f.
Tīrabhukty-Upārik-ādhikaraṇa, 382
Tīrthakara, 69
Tishya, 203,
Tishyarakshitā, 251
Tissa, king of Ceylon. 225
Tīvara, 234, 237, 251, 350
Tochari, 288f
Toramāṇa, 381, 401, 426
Tosali, 196, 206n, 207, 211, 214f, 237, 249,
Tou-mi, 311, 313
Tours, 179
Traikuṭaka Era, 319, 340n
Trajan, 315n
Tranakayiro, 283
Trasadasyu, 17, 72f
Trigartas, 45
Triparvata, 342n
Tripurī, 91
Tripuri Vishaya, 381, 391, 401
Triśalā, 82, 86f
Trisāmā, 261n, 263
Triśaṅku, 72
Tryaruṇa, 72
Tsenn-Hoang, 312
Tsung-ling mountains, 323
Tukhāras, 289
Tuliyan, 201n
Tulu nāda, 201n
Tulus, 224
Tumain, Tumbavana, 384
Tumburu, 374
Tuṇḍikeras, 103
Tura, Kāvasheya, 12, 15, 24, 32f, 54
Turamāya, 226
Turghna, 16
Turiva, 288
Turvaças, Turvaśas, 47f, 97
Tushāspha, 178, 196, 205, 213f, 345n, 380n
Tūthika, 355

U

Ubbhaṭaka, 89
Uberae, 66
Ubhaka, 149
Uchchaiḥśravas, 18, 49
Uchchaśṛiṅgi, 342n
Udāka, 270f, 285
Udakasena, 70
Udānakūpa, 381, 383
Udāsthita, 198
Udaya of Kāsi, 51, 70
Udaya, Udāyin of Magadha, 143f, 152
Udayana, 29, 75, 78, 93, 131, 135f, 220n
Udayibhadda, 143f, 145f
Uddālaka, Āruṇī, see Āruṇī
Udīchyas, 44, 112
Udumbaras, 349n
Ugra, Ugraputra, 59, 82, 84n
Ugrasena, Mahāpadma, 154f, 160, 178
Ugrasena of Palakka, 366
Ugrasena Pārikshita, 10f, 27, 29, 121
Ujjain (Ujjeni). Viśālā, Padmāvatī, Bhogavatī Hiraṇyavatī, 102, 132, 187, 195, 202, 208, 214, 237, 239, 249, 412
Ujjayinī-puravar-ādhiśvara, 378
Ukkala, 433
Ukkaṭṭha, 71, 133
Unmattāvanti, 398
Upachara, 91
Upagupta, 233n
Upaguptā, 406
Upāli, 22, 33
Upaplavya, 45
Uparichara, 80, 91, 284
Uparika Mahārāja, 381, 382, 399
Upāsaka, 231
Uragapura, 223, 434
Uraiyūr, see Uragapura
Uraśā, 167, 304
Uruvelakappa, 89
Ushasti Chākrāyaṇa, see Chākrāyaṇa
Ushavadāta, 213, 331, 335, 371
Uśīnara, 38, 42f, 112, 170, 371
Uśinaragiri, 44
Uśīnarāṇī, 44
Uśīradhvaja, 44
Usīragiri, 44
Utkala, 97, 433
Utkrośana, 21, 123, 125
Uttamabhadras, 349n
Uttamaujas, 48
Uttarādhyakshas, 194
Uttara Kuru, 19, 26, 43, 112f
Uttara Madra, 42, 112f
Uttara Pañchāla, 49, 91, 94
Uttarāpatha, 39, 104, 128, 160, 163f, 175, 195, 208
Uttara Tosala, 207n

V

Vachabhūmika, 215, 218
Vāchaknavī, 38
Vachchha, see Vatsa
Vaḍanagara, 344n
Vāhlikas, 364n
Vaichitravīrya see Dhṛitarāshṭra Vaichitravīrya
Vaidarbha, 60, 65, 213
Vaideha, 32, 138
Vaidehaka, 198
Vaidehas, Later, 55f
Vaidehīputra, 93

Vaidyas, 173n
Vaigai, 223
Vaihāra, 78
Vaijayanti, 336n, 341n, 342n
(Vai)nya Gu(pta), 402n
Vairājya, 113, 117
Vairochana, 77
Vaiśālī, 71, 81f, 129, 132, 137, 140f, 147, 210, 362, 382
Vaiśālians, 143
Vaiśālika, Dynasty, 84
Vaiśāly-ādhiṣṭhān-ādhikaraṇa, 382
Vaiśampāyana, 6, 23, 25f
Vaiśravaṇa, 146
Vaiśya, 113, 120, 172, 197
Vaitaraṇī, 62, 205
Vājapeya, 113, 116f
Vājasaneya, 12, 38
Vājheshka, 317, 325
Vajirā, 134, 140
Vajirī, 134
Vajji, 57f, 67f, 82f, 129, 141, 210
Vajra, 396, 403
Vākāṭakas, 5, 63, 342, 398ff, 376f, 383, 389, 431
Vakradeva (Vakadepa or Kudepa), 284
Vālavī, 381
Vāmadeva, 58
Vāmakakshāyaṇa, 32f, 54
Vamba Moriyar, 183
Vaṁśa, see Vatsa
Vamśadharā, 62n
Vanashpara, 323
Vaṅga, 75, 210n, 364n, 406, 424
Vāṇiyagāma, 84, 133
Vañji, 224
Vaṅka, 74, 110
Vaṅkshu, 426
Varadā, 255
Varadātaṭa, 60
Varāha, 78
Varakalyāna, 91
Vārakamaṇḍala, 430
Vara Māndhātā, 91
Vārāṇasī, see Bārāṇasī
Vāraṇāvata, 94
Vararoja, 91
Vardanes, 308
Vardhamāna, see Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta, Mahāvīra
Varendra, 424
Varmans, 392n, 407n, 424
Varṇaṭa, 398
Vārshagaṇya, 5
Vartivardhana, 147f
Varuṇa Dharmapati, 120
Varus, 179
Vaśas, 43, 92, 112
Vāsabha-Khattiyā, 134
Vaśāti, 173, 173n
Vā•avadattā, 135f
Vāseṭṭhas, 89
Vāsishka, 317, 325f, 419, 422
Vasishṭha, 34, 54, 89
Vāsishṭhīputra, 282
Vāsishṭhīputra Chatarapana Satakaṇi, 339
Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāyi, 339
Vāsiṭhiputa Siri-Chaṁtamūla, 374
Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śri Sātakarṇi, 339, 345
Vasiṭhī, 282
Vassakāra, 141f, 219
Vasubandhu, 395
Vasu Chedi, 80, 91
Vasudāna, 93
Vasudeva Kāṇva, 269, 272, 274
Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa, see Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva, 99, 326
Vāsudeva Kushān, 213, 317f, 319f, 321, 326f, 419
Vasu Jyeshṭha, 269
Vasuladattā, see Vāsavadattā
Vasumatī, 78, 80
Vasumitra, King, 259, 267, 270
Vasumitra, sage, 324
Vaṭa Namdi, 149f
Vaṭāṭavi, 366
Vātāpi, 435
Vatsa, Vaṁśa, 67f, 78, 92, 131, 135f,
Vatsadevī, 395
Vātsya, 32, 54
Vātsyāyana, 278, 357
Vāvātā, 115,
Vāyurakshita, 381n
Veda Śrī, 283
Vedehaputta, 52
Vedehī, 87n
Vedehīputta, 137
Vedhas, 74
Vegi, 367
Veballa, 139f
Vejayanti, 336n
Velnāṇḍu, 436
Veṅgī, 341n, 366f, 397
Veretbragna, 308
Vesālī, see Vaiśālī
Veśpasi, 323
Vessabhu, 101
Vessantara, Prince, 125
Veṭhadīpa, 131
Veṭhadīpaka, 131,
Vichitravīrya, 54
Vidagdha, 38
Vidarbha, 58, 60f, 98f, 254f, 336
Vidarbhī Kauṇḍinya, see Kauṇḍinya, 54, 61
Videgha, 35, 52
Videha, 30, 33f, 49, 57f, 61, 68f, 71f, 82, 84, 89, 93, 103f, 121, 137f
Videhadattā, 82, 87
Vidiśā, 65, 253, 270f, 273, 328, 364n
Viḍuḍabha, 134, 140, 220n, 366n
Vidura, 19n
Vigatāśoka Tishya, 203, 251
Vigatāśoka II, 251
Vigrahapāla, 150, 386
Vihārayātrā, 220, 233f
Vijaya, 225n
Vijayāditya, 397, 411
Vijayakīrtī, 319

Vijayapāla, 394
Vijayasena, 347
Vijaya-Skanda-Varman, 352
Vijayeśa, 209
Vijita, 211
Vikrama era, 317ff
Vikramāditya, Chandragupta II, 376ff, 425
Vikramāditya of Ayodhya, 395
Vikramāditya (Skanda), 386f
Vikramāditya VI, 392n
Vikramāditya Śakāri, 378
Vikramāṅka, 378
Vikrama, Pura Gupta, 395
Vilivāyakura, 434
Vima Kadphises II, 315
Vimala-Koṇḍañña, 139
Vimānadasanā, 232, 469
Vimānas, 232
Vinaśana, 372
Vinayāditya, 411
Vināyakapāla (Pratihāra), 394n
Vinaya-sthiti-sthāpaka, 382
Vinaya-sthiti-sthapak-ādhikaraṇa, 382
Vinda, 102
Vindhya, 60, 64, 213
Vindhyāśakti, 368
Vipāśā, 41
Vipula, 78
Vīra Choḍa, 10
Vīrakūrcha, 341n
Vīra Matsyas, 97
Vīrasena, General, 268
Vīrasena Maurya, 238, 246
Vīrasena, 253ff
Vīrasena, Śāba, 377, 380
Virashṭrā, 158
Virāṭ, 113
Virāṭa, 44
Virāṭanagara, 45, 96
Vīravarman, 341n
Visa, 210
Visadeva, 359
Viśākha, 219n
Viśāla, King, 84
Viśālā, 83f
Viśālā (Ujjain), 378
Visāmattā, 122, 125
Vishāṇins, 170
Vishavajri, 210
Vishaya, 41, 75, 355f, 365, 381f
Vishayapati, 356, 365, 381
Vishṇu, 4, 384
Vishṇugopa, 341n, 366
Vishṇugopa (of Pālakkada), 352
Vishṇugupta (Chāṇakya, Kauṭilya), 182
Vishṇugupta Chandrāditya, 411
Vishṇukuṇḍin, 341n, 405
Vishṇumitra, 275
Vishṇupada, 75, 77
Vishṇupālita, 355
Vishṇuvardhana, 394n
Vishṭi, 7n, 194n 348, 354
Vishṭi and Praṇaya, 7n
Vishvaksena (sage), 70
Vishvaksena (king) 70
Vissasena, 70
Viśvakarmā, 121
Viśvāmitra, 54
Viśvasena, 70
Viśvasiṁha, 347
Viśvavarman, 384n
Vitabhaya, 344n
Vitahavyas, 69
Vitaṅkapura, 75
Vitastātra, 209
Vītihotras, 97, 103, 155
Vivāha, 220n
Vivutha, 231n
Vizagapatam, 65, 367f
Vohārika, 139
Vonones, 289f, 299, 422
Vraja, 218
Vrātya, 79, 86, 100, 150
Vṛiddhadyumna, 28, 29, 54
Vṛihad Bāṇa, 342n
Vṛihaspati, 237, 239
Vṛijika, 83, 210
Vṛishabha, 78
Vṛishalīs, 198
Vṛishasena, 237
Vṛishṇi, 97f, 122, 344n
Vṛitrahan, 45
Vulture Peak, 141
Vyāghra, 369f
Vyāghra-bala-parākrama, 384n
Vyāghradeva, 369
Vyāghra-parākrama, 374
Vyāghra-rāja, 366, 370
Vyāghra-sena, 340n
Vyāpṛita, 355
Vyāvahāra Samatā, 244f
Vyāsa, 31, 54
Vyutha, 231

W

Wāghlī, 211n
Wang, 313
Wardak, 325
Warden of the Marches (see Antapāla)
Wardhā, 61
Wei, 316
Wei-io, 316
Wema Kadphises, 298, 315, 321n, 32
Wu-i-shan-li, 293n
Wu-sun, 312
Wu-t'ou-lao, 292, 298

X

Xandrames, 155f, 415n
Xathroi, 173
Xerxes, 162, 188

Y

Yabgou, Yavuga, 313, 315
Yādava, Yadu, 61, 63, 86, 97f
Yādava kings, 253
Yajñasena of Pañchāla, 48f
Yajñasena of Vidarbha, 254f
Yajñaśrī, 339, 340
Yājñavalkya, 15n, 30f, 38, 56, 122
Yajñavarman, 406
Yaksha (Yakkha), 132f, 145f, 149f
Yamaka Pratihārya, 233n
Yanam, 367
Yamunā, Jumna, 19, 62f, 97f, 261n, 267n, 293
Yaśaskara, 398
Yāska, see Bibliographical Index
Yaśodāman, 347, 358
Yaśodharman, 402f, 424, 428, 432
Yaśomatī, 386
Yaśovarman, 396n, 411
Yaudheyas, 168n, 319, 345, 349n, 371f, 419f, 21
Yauna, Yavana, 3, 4, 39, 176, 196, 213, 259f, 293, 336
Yauvarājya, 351f
Yavanarāja, see Tushāspha, 178, 196, 213, 345n
Yayāti, 18, 42
Yayātinagarī, 367
Yellamañchili, 368
Yeṇḍipalli, 367
Yen-kao-tchen, 314, 315f
Yin-mo-fu, 292, 298
Yoga-Nanda, 151
Yohiya-bār (Johiya-bār), 345, 372, 421
Yona, 178f, 208, 415, see Yauna, Yavana
Ysāmotika, 333, 343
Yudhāṁśraushṭi, 121
Yudhishṭhira, Yuddhiṭṭhila, 29, 57, 93, 119n, 371
Yueh-chi (Yüe-chi, Yüe-ti, Yue-tchi), 289, 292 311ff, 322, 326
Yüan-ti, 292
Yu-Houan, 316
Yuktas, Yutas, 215, 217, 229f
Yuva Mahārāja, 352
Yuvanāśva, 71
Yuvarāja-pādīya Kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇa, 382

Z

Za Hakale, Zoscales, 343n
Zarathustra, 416
Zeda, 323
Zeionises, see Jihonika, 302, 315
Zeus, 266, 300
Zoilos, 286
Zoroastrian, 188, 324, 416
Zoscales, see Za Hakale

POSTSCRIPT :

P. 228 *ante*.—For the " harmless Samāja," see also *IHQ*, 1928, March, 112f.

P. 232 *ante*.—For a new interpretation of Vimāna-dasanā, etc., see now *A Volume of Indian Studies presented to Professor E. J. Rapson*, p. 546.

P. 359n *ante*.—In the Poona plates a Gupta Princess is called Dhāraṇa sagotrā (*cf. IHQ*, 1930, 565).

P. 373n *ante*.—In the Poona Plates Samudra Gupta receives the epithet *anekāśvamedha-yājin*. He may have celebrated more than one horse-sacrifice.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

1. The Early History of the Vaishnava Sect

Demy 8vo, 146 pp. Price Rs. 2-13

Published by the Calcutta University

OPINIONS AND REVIEWS

PROFESSOR E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, YALE UNIVERSITY, AMERICA.—"Your book has given me great satisfaction.....I am particularly pleased to see an incisive study of this kind in the realm of religious history.....Believe me, in the hope of further contributions of this character from your able pen....."

PROFESSOR A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY.—"While I do not concur in your view as to the original character of Kṛṣṇa, I recognise the care with which you have investigated the issue, and value highly the elaborate collation of the evidence which your work contains, and which will render it of much service to all students of this, doubtless insoluble, problem. The stress laid on the epigraphic evidence and the full use made of it is of special value, while in many details your opinions are of interest and value, as in the case of the date of Pāṇini....."

SIR GEORGE GRIERSON.—"Very interesting and informing..... The book is full of matter which is of great importance for the history of religion in India and will form a valued addition to my collection of books on the subject....."

F. E. PARGITER, OXFORD.—"I agree with you in discarding various theories, but I don't think that Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra is the famous Kṛiṣṇa, and it seems to me your exposition can stand just as well without the identification as with it. Your book will help to elucidate the whole matter, but are you sure that the cult does not owe something to Christianity?"

PROFESSOR F. OTTO SCHRADER, KIEL, GERMANY.—"I perfectly agree with your opinion that the Chāndogya passage on Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra and his teaching is to be considered as the first historical

record of Bhāgavatism. There were, of course, many Kṛṣṇas, but to conjecture that more than one was also a Devakīputra, is to my mind an unscientific boldness which is the less justifiable as the teachings mentioned in that passage, as you show, perfectly agree with those, *e.g.*, of the Bhagavad-gitā and the Ṛk quoted with the famous तद्विष्णो परमं पदं।....."

Professor Garbe, Tübingen, Germany.—" I have read your book with the greatest interest and perfectly agree with you in the main points, as to the personality of Kṛṣṇa and the development of Bhāgavatism.....You have brought together much important material and elucidated the dark early history of Bhāgavatism as far as possible."

The Times Literary Supplement, May 12, 1921.—" The lectures of Mr. Hemchandra Ray Chaudhuri on the early history of the Vaishṇava Sect read almost as would a Bampton lecture on the " Historical Christ " to a Christian audience. They are an attempt to disentangle the authentic figure of Krishna from the mass of Puranic legend and gross tradition, from the wild conjectures and mistaken, if reasoned, theories which surround his name. The worship of Krishna is not a superstitious idolatry ; it is the expression of the Bhakti, the devotional faith of an intellectual people, and many missionaries, ill-equipped for dealing with a dimly understood creed would do well to study this little volume....."

Journal Asiatique, January-March, 1923, Paris.—" Dans le domaine historique, signalons un travail plein de merite de M. Hemchandra Ray Chaudhuri : *Materials for the study of the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect.*" (Dr. Jules Bloch of Paris.)

Dr. Jules Bloch, Paris.—" My Guru, Sylvain Lévi, who has come back from his travels, told me also of his esteem for that book."

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.—" The scope of this small book is rightly expressed in its title. The author who is Lecturer in History in the Calcutta University, has collected and discussed statements, references, and allusions from the early literature to throw light on the position and life of Kṛṣṇa and the growth of Bhāgavatism. He deals with the various theories that have been put forward, and with good reasons discredits the views that Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva was a solar deity or a tribal god or a vegetation deity. He is right in treating Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva as one person, the Vṛṣṇi chief, but he unnecessarily identifies him with Kṛṣṇa Devakī-

putra, the scholar mentioned in the Chāndogya Upanishad....." (F. E. Pargiter).

THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE, JUNE 19, 1921.—" In this small book of a hundred and seventeen pages, Mr. Hemchandra Ray Chaudhuri of the Calcutta University has collected much valuable material from which he has succeeded in tracing the origin and growth of the Vaishnava creed. The Historicity of Srikrishna—or as the author calls him, Krishna Vāsudeva, is also handled with remarkable clearness....."

2. Political History of India

From the Accession of Parikshit to the Coronation of Bimbisara.

Reprint from the Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. IX, Royal 8vo, 96 pp. :—

PROFESSOR E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.—" It is a fine augury for Indian scholarship when native scholars of the first rank take seriously in hand the great problem of untangling the web of Indian history. To this work your book is a valuable contribution."

PROFESSOR H. JACOBI, BONN.—" Very suggestive and contains some important details."

PROFESSOR F. OTTO SCHRADER.—" I have read the book with increasing interest and do not hesitate to say that it contains a great many details which will be found useful by later historians. The portion I enjoyed most is that on the sixteen Mahājanapadas."

PROFESSOR A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.—" Full of useful information."

PROFESSOR L. D. BARNETT, BRITISH MUSEUM.—" Presents the facts very well. It will be very useful to students."

PROFESSOR E. J. RAPSON, CAMBRIDGE.—" I write to thank you for your kindness in sending me copies of your interesting papers."

W. CHARLES DE SILVA, COLOMBO.—" I have the greatest pleasure to express my high appreciation of your very valuable and learned article."

3. The Laksmana Sena Era

Reprint from Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol. III, Orientalia, Part 2, Calcutta—Published by the Calcutta University and Printed at the Baptist Mission Press, 1921, and 1925.

PROFESSOR DR. STEN KONOW, KRISTIANIA, NORWAY.—"Many thanks for the reprints which you have been good enough to send me. I have read them with great pleasure. They are written in a thoroughly scholarlike way, and more especially it seems to me that your paper about the Lakṣmaṇa Sena era deserves very careful attention."

4. The Mahabharata and the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros

JASB, 1922, No. 19.

PROFESSOR H. JACOBI.—"The verification of the Bhāgavata credo in the Besnagar inscription is a find on which you may be congratulated."

PROFESSOR E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.—"It is certainly a remarkable resemblance which you have established and I should be inclined to agree with your conclusion."

PROFESSOR JARL CHARPENTIER.—"The identification of some words in this very important document with a passage in the Mahābhārata seems to be a most happy find."

5. Political History of Ancient India

From the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty

First Edition.

Royal 8vo, 350 pp. Price Rs. 4.

Published by the Calcutta University.

DR. L. D. BARNETT, LONDON.—"The author treats his materials with a certain degree of originality, but at the same time he preserves throughout a well-balanced judgment and never sacrifices critical caution to the passion for novel theories.....This interesting book..... shews judgment, ingenuity, and learning. And not the least of the author's merits is that he can write plain English."

PROFESSOR HULTZSCH, HALLE, GERMANY.—Your valuable work..... is the outcome of extensive researches and throws much light on the

darkest and most debated periods of Indian history. You have succeeded in building up an intelligible account from the stray and imperfect materials which are available to the historian of those times."

PROFESSOR JOLLY, WÜRZBURG, GERMANY.—"Many thanks for your splendid volume.....What an enormous mass of evidence has been collected and discussed in this work, an important feature of which is the quotation of the original texts along with their translation which makes it easy to control the conclusions arrived at. The ancient geography, not less than the ancient history of India, has been greatly furthered by your researches and much new light has been thrown on some of the most vexed problems of Indian Archaeology and Chronology. The indices are very copious and the study of your work is greatly facilitated by them."

PROFESSOR PELLIOT, PARIS.—"Le nom de l'auteur est garant du serieux du travail."

PROFESSOR JARL CHARPENTIER, UPSALA, SWEDEN.—"Professor Ray Chaudhuri belongs to a set of young Hindu scholars who, combining the traditional education of a Pandit with a thorough training in English, German or French Universities, have lately been carrying on deep and fruitful researches in the various domains of Indian lore.....Even the student, who on essential points does differ widely from the opinions expressed by Professor Ray Chaudhuri, must willingly recognize his high merits as a scholar."

PROFESSOR A. SCHEPOTIEFF, UFA, RUSSIA.—"For our study of the history of the Ancient Age your Political History of Ancient India is of very great importance (trans. from original).

POLITICAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA FROM THE ACCESSION OF PARIKSHIT TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE GUPTA DYNASTY. BY HEMCHANDRA RAY CHAUDHURI, M.A., Ph.D., 2nd edition. 9½ × 6, pp. xix, 416. University of Calcutta, 1927.

This is a revised and considerably enlarged edition of Professor Chaudhuri's work, first published in 1923. Part I deals with the period from Parikṣit to Bimbiṣāra. The author seeks to show, as he tells us in his preface, "that chronological relation of the national transactions before 600 B.C. is not impossible." He has laid under contribution the usual authorities, the Vedic, Puranic, Buddhist, and Jaina texts—though he does not appear to place much

reliance upon the last-named (*cf.* pp. 6 and 72). A vast mass of records has been collated, and the evidence marshalled in a very concise and able, and in some respects original, manner. The apposite quotations from the original texts are useful. Professor Ray Chaudhuri regards Parikṣit I and Parikṣit II, as they are named by the late Mr. Pargiter in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, as being probably one and the same king, and as identifiable with the Vedic Parikṣit. By "the great Janaka" he refers to the Janaka of the later Vedic texts, whose court is said to have been thronged with Brāhmaṇas, and not to the traditional first king Janaka, the eponymous founder of the Janakavaṁśa, or to Janaka Sīradhvaja, the reputed father of Sītā. Synchronizing Guṇākbya Sāṅkhāyana with Āśvalāyana and the Buddha, he inclines, it seems, to place Parikṣit in the ninth, and the "great Janaka" in the seventh century B.C. though he wisely avoids coming to any positive conclusion as to these debatable dates, and points out that if the evidence of the Purāṇas were accepted we would have to place them some five centuries earlier. If it could be established that Parikṣit came into power at the beginning of the ninth century, or the end of the tenth, this would help to corroborate the approximate chronology suggested by Mr. Pargiter, having regard also to the synchronism between Senapati Bārhadratha and Adhisīmakṛṣṇa. But until more convincing evidence is discovered, most scholars will probably agree in the verdict of Vincent Smith, that nothing approaching exact chronology is yet available for periods anterior to about 650 B.C.

Much of the matter in Part II will perhaps be familiar to students of Indian history; but it has been arranged in a fresh and scholarly manner, while several important suggestions have been made on different questions. One or two of these may be cited as examples. On pp. 72-3 reasons are set forth for accepting the Ceylon tradition that Śiśunāga was later than Bimbīsāra. The view recorded by Mahāmahopādhāya (*sic*) H. P. Śāstrī that the ultimate dismemberment of the Mauryan empire was due to a reaction promoted by the Brāhmaṇas, is vigorously controverted. Whatever other causes may have operated, and Professor Ray Chaudhuri undoubtedly lays his finger on more than one such, Brahmanical influences cannot be ignored. The arguments used for holding that Demetrius,[1] rather than Menander, was the Yavana invader of the Madhyadeśa in the time

[1] For the latest reading of the Hāthigumphā inscription reference to the Yavana king, see *JBORS*, XIII, 228.

of Pushyamitra, and that Simuka, the founder of the Śātavāhana dynasty, must be placed in the first century B.C., deserve careful consideration.

Since Hoernle made his well-known suggestion as to the identity of Devagupta, mentioned in two inscriptions of Harṣavardhana, several writers have attempted to frame the history of the later Guptas of Eastern Mālava and Bihār and the Maukharis of Kanauj. The period presents many difficulties, which are not likely to be solved until some further evidence reveals itself. Having regard to the conditions of the times and the bitter enmity of the Maukharis, who were then very powerful, it seems unlikely that the Susthitavarman mentioned in the Aphsaṇḍ (*sic*) inscription of Ādityasena as having been defeated by Mahāsenagupta of E. Mālava, could have been the king of Kāmarūpa, as the author states. Fleet's suggestion that he was the Maukhari king of that name,[1] whom we know to have been contemporaneous with Mahāsenagupta, seems more probable.

Not the least valuable part of the contents of this volume are the numerous comments on the geographical information supplied in the records quoted ; and it is a matter of regret that of the five maps entered in the table of Contents (p. xvi), only one, *viz.*, that of "Bhāratavarsha" appears in the volume before us. As regards this map we are not told what specific period, if any, it refers to. In any case, the positions assigned to the Niṣādas, S. Kosala, Kāmboja, and the Rikṣa mountains seem to call for some explanation. On the other hand, the geographical information given in the text is extensive, and often suggestive, and it indicates that much attention has been devoted to this important auxiliary to ancient Indian historical research. The indexes, both bibliographical and general, have been very well prepared.

C. E. A. W. O.

4 Crawfurd Road, Edinburgh,

7 September, 1927.

Dear Sir,

I have to express my appreciation of the courtesy of the University of Calcutta in forwarding to me at the request of the author a copy of Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India, which I observe has reached a second edition.

[1] No Maukhari king of that name is known [H.C.R.C.]

I have now read through the work and find it to contain much that is valuable. The author has arrived at clearly cut opinions on many of the chief difficulties in the History of early India ; he has formulated them effectively, and as a result, even when they do not commend themselves as final solutions, they will serve to promote the discussion and to facilitate further fruitful research. He observes a due sense of proportion and is well read in the literature. The work accordingly may justly be deemed a most valuable contribution to the subject-matter of which it treats.

Yours very truly,
A. Berriedale Keith.

Munchen-Neubiberg
Germany
29th September, 1927.

Sir,

Tell my best thanks, please, to Mr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri for kindly presenting me with his splendid work on Political History of Ancient India from the time of Parikṣit down to the extinction of the Gupta dynasty, and excuse my delay in writing you. But I was absent from home, and it is only a short time ago that I returned from our hills where I have spent some holiday weeks. I highly appreciate Mr. Ray Chaudhuri's work as a most happy combination of sound scientific method and enormous knowledge of both Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical literature. The work is written in lucid style inspite of its intricate subject and affords a mass of valuable evidence, throwing much light on the whole period of Indian History dealt with in it. I see with special pleasure and satisfaction that we now are enabled by the author's penetrating researches to start in Indian chronology from the 9th instead of the 6th or 5th century B. C.

Repeating my best thanks, I remain,
Yours truly,
Professor Wilh Geiger

Patna,
18th January, 1931.

Dear Dr. Ray Chaudhury,

I am very thankful to you for your valuable book. I am glad that you devote your attention to Hindu geography as well.

K. P. Jayaswal.

6. **The Aryan Occupation of India,** Calcutta Review, 1926, Oct.

7. **India in Purāṇic Cosmography** } Journal of the
8. **The Mountain System of the Purāṇas.** } Department of Letters, XIX.

9. **A Note on the Vastrâpathamāhātmya of the Skandapurāṇa**—Indian Historical Quarterly, March, 1929.

PROF. RAPSON.—I have read them with much interest, and shall carefully preserve them for future reference.'

DR. BARNETT.—They are very interesting and critically sound.

DR. KEITH.—They are all very interesting, and I am glad to note the very useful information elicited as to Bhoja.